ME *THER* AND *WHER*
——A STUDY OF *WHERE* DEVELOPING IN THE SUBORDINATING FUNCTION (II)——

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I. *Introduction*

In the first part of this series of study[1] I made an attempt to describe how in Old English *pær* (>ModE *there*) was used in the function of ModE *where* to introduce a subordinate clause of local determination and how *hwær* (>ModE *where*) was beginning to develop the corresponding syntactical function by the close of the same period. Now I shall go on to observe how in the Middle English period *per* [*per, ther(e)*] (<OE *pær*) was preserved and how the newer use of *ware* [*wer, hwer, wher(e)*] (<OE *hwær*) was promoted as relative adverb or subordinate conjunction during the same period.

In describing the Middle English phenomena with special reference to the interrelation in historical development of *ther* and *wher* and their semantic or functional features, I find it convenient to make the following threefold classification according to the periods, syntactical uses, and forms concerned: first,[2] **II.** EME (*i.e.* Early Middle English, *c.* 1100—*c.* 1300) and **III.** LME (*i.e.* Late Middle English, *c.* 1300—*c.* 1500); secondly, **A.** non-restrictive relative, **B.** restrictive relative, **C.** subordinate conjunction introducing an adverbial clause of local determination, in the sense of 'in, at, or to the place where,' and **D.** indefinite relative or conjunctive adverb introducing an adverbial clause of generalizing local determination, in the sense of 'wherever'; and thirdly, **a.** *ther* and **b.** *wher*.

In this classification, I must admit, it is sometimes difficult to draw a distinct demarcation between A and B, since in those early English texts on which I shall depend for the exemplification the punctuation is not so logically clear in indicating the distinction between the restrictive and non-restrictive uses of the relatives as in modern English texts. Otherwise there are so many intermediate cases in making semantic or functional discriminations that it even seems irrelevant for the intrinsic clarification of the problems concerned to classify them. I should like, however, to consider it significant to relate Class A to the initial stage of transition from demonstrative *there* to relative or conjunctional *there* and *where*. Further, it may be assumed that the passage from Classes B and C to Class D roughly corresponds to the functional shift from demonstrative determinative force to indefinite determinative

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[1] Entitled "OE *Pær* and *Hwær*——A Study of *Where* Developing in the Subordinating Function (1)——," published in *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences* XII. i, 1971.
[2] The numbering of II and III, instead of I and II respectively, is adopted on account of its identification with that of chapters in the present instalment of this study.

force, the former being inherent in *there* and the latter in *where*.[3]

The general tendency is that throughout the period of Middle English *ther* was more frequently found for the functions A, B and C, while *wher* or its intensified form *wher-so* or *wher-so-ever* maintained its status in the function D. In LME, however, *wher* made a greater advance into the provinces A, B, and C. It is worth remarking, on the other hand, that in all the four functions *ther* was preserved more persistently than might be expected, especially in contrast with the substitution of the kindred connective *whan* (<OE *hwonne* when) for *than* (<OE *ponne* then) and *tho* (<OE *pā* then) in Middle English, as I surveyed it in my previous article.[4]

II. *EME*

What seems most noteworthy about the EME phenomena is that several texts,[5] such as *Poema Morale, The Owl and the Nightingale*, the Caligula MS. of *Laȝamon, King Horn, Ancrene Wisse, Vices and Virtues, The Ormulum*, etc., contain *per* [*pær, paer*] as local connective but no instances of *war(e)* [*hwar, whar*], although as temporal connective *hwenne* is found along with *penne* and/or *po* in the same texts. The newer relative or conjunction *war(e)* can only be attested in a few particular texts. It may be considered natural that in the sense of 'wherever,' Class D, there are not infrequent instances of *whar*, together with the intensified composite forms *whar-so, whar sum, whar pat*, etc., sometimes along with the older *per* or its intensified form *per as*.

II Aa.

In the EME texts, with the exception of *Genesis and Exodus* and the Otho MS. of *La-ȝamon*, most non-restrictive relative clauses of place are introduced by *per*.
    (1) Go we pene narewe wei, and pene wei grene,
         Per forð-fareð lutel folc, ac it is feir and scene.
                                        ——*Poema Morale*, L 339—40.
(=Let us go the narrow way, and the green way, where few men walk along, but it is beautiful and bright.)
    (2) Pu nart vair ne pu nart clene,
         Wane pu comest to manne haȝe,
         Par pornes bop and ris idraȝe,
         Bi hegge and bi picke wode,
         Par men gop oft to hore node. ——*Owl & N.*, C 584—8.
(=You are neither beautiful nor clean, when you come to men's enclosure, where thorns and twigs are drawn by a hedge or thick weeds, where men often go to their need.)

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[3] It is but natural, however, that there should occur some cases, for instance, ex. 4, III Ab below, where the fact is at variance with this putative correspondence, since the choice of *there* and *where* in the concrete context is often conditioned by more than one factor.

[4] "The Development of *When* as Subordinate Conjunction or Relative Adverb," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences* X. i, 1969.

[5] The list of those EME and LME texts which the writer has adopted to quote from will be given at the end of the present article, with a brief description of dates, dialects, editions, and abbreviations.

(3) He wonede at Ernleȝe, at æðelen are chirechen, vppen Seuarne stape,··· on fest Radestone, *þer* he bock radde.——*Laȝamon*, C 5—10. (=He dwelt at Ernley, at a noble church on the bank of the Severn, ··· near Radestone, where he read books.)

(4) He wende to pan burhȝate, *þer* þe king on bure lai.——*Ibid.* 17670—1. (=He went to the gate of the burgh, where the king lay in his chamber.)

(5) Arður wende his speres ord, and for-stod heom þene uord, *þer* adrucke Sexes, full seoue þusend.——*Ibid.* 20158—61. (=Arthur turned the point of his spear and hindered them from leaving the ford, where the Saxons, full seven thousand, were drowned.)

(6) He ariuede in yrlonde,
    Þer he wo fondede.
    Þer he dude Apulf child
    Wedden maide Reynild. ——*King Horn*, C 1633—6.
(=He arrived in Ireland, where he had had sorrowful experiences. There he made Child Athulf marry Princess Reynild.)

(7) Ariseð, deade, ariseð, cumeð to drihtines dom forte beon idemet, *þear* na prud bemere ne schal beon iborhen.——*Ancrene Wisse* 109. 8—10. (=Arise, you dead, arise, and come to the Lord's judgement to be judged, where no proud trumpeter will be saved.)

(8) Þe uttereste is se piesternesse of helle, *ðar* næure ȝiete light ne came, ··· ——*V. & V.* 17. 29—30. (=The uttermost is the darkness of hell, where light has never yet come.)

(9) Oc god him sente reed in wis
    Ðat he bi-lef in gerasis;
    Ðor he was for his fadres luuen
    Holden wurðelike a wel a-buuen. ——*Gen. & Ex.* 1515—8.
(=But God sent him an instruction, indeed, that he should remain in Gerar, where he was honourably and very highly esteemed for his father's sake.)

It may be worth noting that *þer*, when it can be interpreted as non-restrictive relative, is sometimes liable to display a good deal of its original function as demonstrative and anaphoric adverb meaning 'there.' The juxtaposition of a noun of place and *þer* with its demonstrative force in two consecutive sentences——that is the very situation that will shift the latter into a relative adverb with the former as its antecedent. In example 5 above, *þer* would also be interpreted as demonstrative and the whole quotation would mean: "Arthur···hindered them from leaving the ford. There the Saxons···were drowned." Anyhow, the phenomenon is significant in suggesting a transitional stage through which *þer* was proceeding from demonstrative to relative. As a matter of interest, in addition to verse 20160 quoted above, *Laȝamon* contains further instances where *þer* can be interpreted either as demonstrative or non-restrictive relative, in verses: 1615, 6691, 19765, 21443, 22803, 22836, 26186, 28062, 29573, 30546, and 30866.

Again, in example 6, the *þer*s used in the two successive lines show some trace of shifting in function. The end of the first line is punctuated with a comma and that of the second with a period in Lumby and McKnight's edition, from which the example is quoted, but in Morris's edition the first line has no punctuation at the end and the end of the second is punctuated with a comma. In the latter punctuation, where the parallel nature of the two *þer*s is evidently reflected, we might be readily induced to understand the second *þer* in the same function, non-restrictive relative, as the first *þer*, and interpret the quotation as mean-

ing: " He arrived in Ireland, where he had had sorrowful experiences, and where he made Child Athulf marry Princess Reynild." In *King Horn* we can further refer to verses 1301 and 1505, where *per* may similarly be interpreted either as demonstrative or as non-restrictive relative.

II Ab.

The use of *war(e)* [*wor*, *quor*] as non-restrictive relative in EME is quite exceptional. It is found only in *Genesis and Exodus* and the Otho MS. of *Laȝamon*. For the occurrence in *Genesis and Exodus* of *quor* [*wor*] as relative adverb or subordinate conjunction, which can be attested there almost as frequently as *ðor*, Kivimaa[6] infers that French, probably combined with Latin, was responsible in some degree, especially considering the spelling of *qu-* (cf. L *ubi*<*quo-bi*, F *où*) for *hw-* adopted in the work.[7] Whatever the origin, the following instances, quoted from *Genesis and Exodus*, are noteworthy, as they are suggestive of the historical transition from *there* to *where*.

    (1)   .   .   .   was sort leui
        In lond caldea, hur hicte ðe tun,
        Quor deades strenge warp him dun;   ——712—4.
(=He was short-lived in the land of Chaldees, the town of Ur, where Death's string threw him down.)

    (2) Ðor was in helle a sundri stede,
        Wor ðe seli folc reste dede;
        Ðor he stunden til helpe cam,
        Til ihesu crist fro ðeden he nam.   ——1985—8.
(=There was in hell a separate abode, where the righteous people rested. There they waited till help came, till Jesus Christ took them from there.)

Example 2 is particularly interesting. There we see at the beginnings of the successive lines *wor* and *ðor* in the parallel function, though the latter appears to have more of the demonstrative and anaphoric force which is inherent in the word.

As for the instances in *Laȝamon*, the two MSS., the Caligula (dated a. 1225, written in the West Midland dialect) and the Otho (dated c. 1300, written in the Southwestern dialect), show a marked contrast in the use of *per* and *war(e)* in the corresponding places. Below I shall enumerate all the instances of non-restrictive *per* or *war(e)* that can be found in the text.

    (3) Heo ··· ferden to Genoire, *pær* læi Vortigerne.——C 16186—91 / Hii to Genoyre wende, *war* Vortiger alende.——O 16109—1. (=They marched to Genoure, where Vortriger lay.)

    (4) Þa gunnen heo fusen and ferden to pan hulle, iwæpned wel alle, *per* stod þat seolkuð werc, muchel and swið sterc.——C 17373—7 / Þo gonnen hii wende and ferde to pan hulle, iwepnid well alle, *war* stod þat wonder worc, mochel and swipe stark.

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    [6] K. Kivimaa: Þe *and* Þat *as Clause Connectives in Early Middle English with Especial Consideration of the Emergence of the Pleonastic* Þat (Helsinki, 1966), p. 143f.
    [7] Generally speaking, the spelling *qu-* for *hw-* is characteristic of the Northern or East-Midland dialects in Middle English. Among the ME texts I have had recourse to I can refer to the following, besides *Gen. & Ex.: Cursor M.* (*quar(e)*), *Gawain* (*quere*), and some religious lyrics of the fifteenth century (*quare, quhair*).

——O. (=Then they began to march and proceeded to the hill, all well-weaponed, where the marvellous work stood, great and very strong.)

(5) Iseo ʒe pa teldes, *per* Childrich lið i ueldes.——C 20619—20 / Nou ʒeo isep pe teldes, *war* Childrich lip in feldes.——O. (=Now you see the tents, where Childric lies on the fields.)

(6) Leou war fuseð Childric, and fleon wule of londe, and pencheð to Alemaine, *per* beoð his ældren.——C 21545—8 / Lo war wendep Childrich, and fare wole of londe, and penchep to Alemaine, *ware* woniep his eldre.——O. (=Look ! where Childric goes, is flying from the land, and is passing to Alemaine, where his ancestors dwell.)

(7) Feower noked he is, and per inne is feower kunnes fisc, and ælc fisc an his ende, *per* he his cun findeð.——C 21999—22002 / Four nokede hit his, and par in his four cunne fisc, and ech fisc in his ende, *ware* was his cunde.——O. (=It is four-cornered, and there are four kinds of fish in it, each in their end, where the same kind of fish dwells.)

(8) ···pat heo to pan wude comen, *per* heo wel wusten sikerliche to halden pene riche mon of Rome.——C 26799—26802 / ··· and ladde him to pan wode, *war* he wel wiste sikerliche to holde pane heʒe man of Rome.——O. (=···till they came [and he led him] to the wood, where they [he] knew well that they [he] would surely meet the noble man of Rome.)

What should deserve special attention are examples 5 and 6. In these sentences the principal clauses introduced by *per* or *war(e)* contain as their predicate verbs *iseo* [*isep*] (plural imperative, =' see ') and *pencheð* [*penchep*] (=' intends (to go) '), which both imply the notion of intentional discovery or searching for some unknown object. Structurally, *per* or *war(e)* refers to the preceding noun of place; but we might infer that the cognitive force of these main verbs induced the scribe of the later MS. to employ *war(e)*, the word of indefinite or interrogative origin, in place of *per*, the word of demonstrative origin. This kind of syntactical situation may be regarded as one of the factors that motivated the substitution of *where* for *there* as relative or conjunction.

II Ba.

Per, as restrictive relative adverb, which appears more characteristic of early English syntax, is as predominantly found in the EME texts. The noteworthy exceptions are *Kentish Sermons*, and, as under Class A, *Genesis and Exodus* and the Otho MS. of *Laʒamon*.

(1) Pe preost him wile haten pet he nime pa ilke ehte oðer his wurð, and dele hit wrecche monne oðer to brugge oðer to chirche weorke oðer on sume stude *per* hit beoð ivel bitoʒen for cristes luue.[8]——*Lamb. Hom.* 31. 24—27. (=The priest will order him to take that property or its value and distribute it among poor men, or spend it on bridges, on church work, or in some place where it may be well employed for Christ's love.)

(2) Peʒ appel trendli fron pon trowe
    Par he and oper mid growe,
    Peʒ he bo par from bicume,

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[8] With this might be compared the corresponding use of the pronominal relative *pet* (=that) in the same text: "Nu ic mot in pet ilke hus *pet* ic er wes."——*Lamb. Hom.* 27. 26—27. (=Now I must dwell in the same house where I once was.)

He cup wel whonene he is icume.   ——*Owl & N.*, C 135—8.

(=Though the apple rolls from the tree where it and others have grown together——
though it is away from it——it shows well where it has come from.)

(3)   He ferde to þere stowe *þar* Diane *inne* stod.——*Laȝamon*, C 1174—5.   (=He
went to the place where Diana stood.)

(4)   Aȝæin heo gunnen wende to Vðer þan kinge, forð in to þan bure *per* he læi on
bedde.——*Ibid.* 16784—8.   (=They went back to King Uther, forth into the chamber
where he lay in bed.)

(5)   Þa comen Arðures men quecchen after streten, riht þene ilke wæi *per* þe oðer
uerde læi.——*Ibid.* 26942—5.   (=Then Arthur's men came advancing along the street,
just the same road where the other host lay.)

(6)   Rymenhild vndude þe dure pin
         Of þe hus *per* heo was *in*,   ——*King Horn*, C 1047—8.

(=Rymenhild unfastened the door-pin of the house where she was.)   (Cf. MS. L (1049
—50): ···Of boure *þat* he was *ynne*,)

(7)   ···ðo hiet he hem ðat hie scolden in to ælchem huse *ðar* hie comen, ···——*V. &
V.* 99. 15—16.   (=Then he commanded them to enter each house where they would
come.)

(8)   ···ȝif þe herof noht nagrist, nart þu naht liues *þar ðe* ðu libben scoldest.——*Ibid.*
139. 10—11. (=If you do not shudder at this, you are not in the life that you should live.)

(9)   Forr rihht onn hiss þrittende daȝȝ
         Þeȝȝ comenn till þatt chesstre
   Þær ure Laferrd Iesu Crist
         Wass borenn her to manne.   ——*Orm.* 3476—9.

(=For just on the thirteenth day they came to the town where our Lord Jesus Christ
was born here to mankind.)

(10)   ···ipi burð tid in al þe burh of belleem ne fant tu hus lewe *per* þine nesche
childes limes *inne* mihte reste.——*Wohunge U. L.* 277. 26—27. (=At the time of
your birth, in all the city of Bethlehem you found no house-shelter where your tender
child's limbs might rest.)

(11)   And witterlike he it aueð him seid,
         De stede *ðor* abraham was leid;   ——*Gen. & Ex.* 2425—6.

(=And indeed he told him of the place where Abraham had been buried.)

Examples 3, 6 and 10 should be specially noticed.   In each of them the relative adverb
þar or *per* introduces a clause where the adverbial preposition *inne* or *in* is used to
indicate the local adverbial relation explicitly.   From a viewpoint of modern syntax, the
use of the post-posed preposition must be considered superfluous; but in these early in-
tuitive constructions *inne* or *in*, functioning as an adverb of local modification and closely
related to the verb of the clause, reinforces the local reference of the relative adverb *þar* or
per by which the clause is introduced.   The modern type of expression that corresponds
to this is the one that contains the relative pronoun *that* and the preposition *in* after the
verb of the clause.   This time-honoured determinative feature of a relative construction,
which is observable both in " *per ··· inne* " and in " *þat ··· inne*," can be verified by the
variant appended to the main quotation under example 6 above.[9]

As for the composite form *þar ðe* in the quotation (ex. 8) from *Vices and Virtues*, it is

limited to EME and ð*e* [*þe*] is genetically interpreted as strengthening the determinative force of *par* [*per*]. It may be worth remarking that both *par* [*per*] and *þe* are of demonstrative origin, though the latter has been reduced to a mere enclitic particle.[10]

II Bb.

In contrast with the predominance of *þer* as restrictive relative adverb, *war(e)* [*wer*, *quer*], to which ModE *where* is to be morphologically traced, is only sporadically used in EME texts. Two instances of *war* [*wer*] in this use can be quoted from *Kentish Sermons*, which was composed in the Kentish dialect about 1250, and they are the only relative or conjunctive adverbs of place that are found in the work. This conspicuous phenomenon might be ascribable to the influence of French in the original.[11] Another instance of *quer* as restrictive relative is below quoted from *Genesis and Exodus*, whose philological characteristics were mentioned under Class A.

(1) Þo kinges hem wenten and hi seghen þo sterre þet yede bi-fore hem al-wat hi kam over þo huse *war* ure louerd was.——*Kentish Sermons* 29. 7—9. (=The kings went and saw the star, which went on before them till it came and stood over the house where our Lord was.) (Cf. F: ···dusqu'ele vint sor le maison *u* Nostre Sire estoit.)

(2) Þer were vi Ydres of stone, þet were i-clepede baþieres *wer* þo gius hem wesse for clenesse and for religiun.——*Ibid.* 29. 21—23. (=There were six water-pots of stone, which were called bathers where the Jews washed themselves for cleanliness and religion.) (Cf. F: ···baingnoires, *u* li Jui se baingnoient e lavoient por neteé e por religion)

(3) At damaske is ðe ðridde stede,
    Quer abram is bigging dede,   ——*Gen. & Ex.* 761—2.
(=Damascus is the third place where Abram dwelt.)

As in the case of Class A, the contrastable use of *þer* and *war(e)* as restrictive relatives can be exemplified from the early and late MSS. of *Laȝamon*.

(4) Brutus him seide tiðinde þat an lond he ferde sechinde *þer* he mighte þurh-wunian mid his wnfolke.——C 1382—5 / Brutus him tolde tidinge þat a lond a verde sechinge *ware* he mihte wonie mid his gode folke.——O. (=Brutus told him the news that he would go searching a land where he might dwell with his good people.)

(5) Ich inckere freond wurðe, ȝif ȝit me welleð laðen···riht to þan weie þe ȝit witen ful wel *par* þis Romanisce folc forð wulleð riden.——C 5623—9 / ···frendes iworpe, ȝef ȝe me wolleþ leade ··· riht to pane weie þat we wite wel *ware* þis Romanisse folk forþ wolleþ ride.——O. (=I will be your friend, if you will lead me directly to the way that you [we] know very well where these Roman men will ride forth.)

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[9] This type of relative construction, where the relative adverb of place is followed by a prepositional adverb, is so characteristic of Middle English syntax that it can further be instanced in several quotations below: exx. 3, II Ba (*par···inne*); 6, II Ba (*per···in*); 10, II Ba (*per···inne*); 1, II Ca (*per···in*); 4, III Aa (*ther···inne*); 10, III Ab (*per···in*); 1, III Ba (*par···amang*); 3, III Ba (*per···inne*); 4, III Ba, var. (*pere···inne*); 5, III Ba (*ther···inne*); 12, III Ba (*per···in*); 8, III Bb (*wher···inne*); and 11, III Ca (*per···in*).

[10] In the present article *par* [*per*] *þe* is further exemplified in three other quotations——two again from *V. & V.* (exx. 12, II Ca; 5, II Da) and one from Ms. O of *Laȝamon* (ex. 7, II Ca).

[11] The French original (edited from MS. Douce 270, Bodleian D) is in turn translated from the Latin sermons by Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris from 1160 to 1196. Cf. Joseph Hall: *Selections from Early Middle English*, II (Oxford, 1920), p. 668 f.

(6) Ʒif auere cumeð þe dæi þat···ich maʒen swa wel iþeon þat Ʒe cumen a londe *per* ich beon, ich eow wulle wel biwiten mid muchelere wurðscipe.——C 13495—9 / Ʒef euere comeþ þe dai þat···ich mawe so wel iþeon þat Ʒe come in londe *war* ich beon, ich ou wolle wel bi-wite mid mochelere mansipe.——O. (=If the day ever comes that I may thrive so well that you will come to the land where I shall be, I will reward you well with great worship.)

(7) Þa com he to þan ærde *per* læi his ferde, ··· ——C 19202—3 / Þo com he to þan stude *war* lay his ferde, ··· ——O. (=When he came to the spot where his army lay, ···)

Here, again, the two first instances should be noticed. In example 4 the relative clause introduced by *per* or *ware* is dependent on the present participle *sechinde* [*sechinge*] as well as on the noun *an* [*a*] *lond*. This cognitive construction leads the scribe of the later MS. to substitute *ware* for *per*. Example 5 is a particular instance where the parenthetic relative clause that precedes the *par-* or *ware*-clause contains the cognitive verb *wite(n)* (=know), which appears in the later version as if introducing an object clause that is properly to be introduced by indefinite-interrogative *ware*. It is presumable that these phenomena were adding motive force to the transition from the word of demonstrative origin to the word of indefinite or interrogative origin in the function of relative or subordinate conjunction.[12]

We should further compare the following quotation from *Lambeth Homilies*, where indefinite *hwer* is used after the object noun of *secheð*.

(8) Þe unclene gast þe geð him of þan sunfulle mon and geð him of þan stude to stude and secheð reste *hwer* he mei wunian.——27. 21—23. (=The unclean spirit goes off the sinful man, goes from place to place, and seeks some resting place where he may dwell.)

II Ca.

In the sense of ' where,' ' in *or* at the place where ' or ' to the place where ' and introducing an adverbial clause of place, also, *per* [*par*] is predominantly used in the EME texts. *War(e)* [*quor*], again, can only be attested in the Otho MS. of *Laʒamon* and *Genesis and Exodus*.

(1) Ga to þine feder burinesse oðer *per* eni of þine cunne lið *in*, and esca hine hwet he habbe biʒeten mid his wohe domas.——*Lamb. Hom.* 35. 4—5. (=Go to your father's tomb or where any of your kinsmen is lying, and ask him what he has gained by his wrong dooms.)

(2) Lutel he wat wet is þine and lutel hit scaweð
　　　Hwice hete is *per* þa saule wuneð hu biter wind per blaweð.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　——*Poema Morale*, L 136—7.

(=Little does he know what suffering is, what heat is where the soul abides, and how bitter the wind blows there.)

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[12] In the following pair of quotations from the two versions of *Laʒamon*, the construction in the early version is of much the same kind as in example 4 or 5 above, but in the late version the cognitive verb *bi-holde* is immediately followed by an object-clause which indefinite-relative *ware* introduces: "he seolf wende Ʒeond þis lond to sechen ænne bræne fæld *per* he mihte wel spræde on his feire hude."——C 14201—4/ "him seolf wende overal to bi-holde *ware* he mihte wel spræde his bole hude."——O. (=He himself went over this land to seek a broad field [to behold] where he might well spread his beautiful bull-hide.)

(3) Loke þat þu ne bo *þare*
    Þar chauling boþ and cheste ȝare.   ——*Owl & N.*, C 295—6.
(=See that you are not where chattering and contention are ready.)
    (4) Vor he nis noþer ȝep ne wis
    Þat longe abid *þar* him nod nis.   ——*Ibid.* 465—6.
(=For he who remains long where he is not required is neither cunning nor wise.)

    (5) Þis iherde þa king *þer* he læi an skentting, and leop ut of bure swulc hit an liun weore.——*Laȝamon*, C 19166—8. (=The king heard this where he lay in amorous play and leapt out of the bower as if he were a lion.)

    (6) *Þer* stod seint Austin and his clærkes mid and speken of crist godes sune···, *þer* heo iwurðen to, to wraðere hele.——*Ibid.* 29951—6. (=Where Saint Austin and his clerks stood together and spoke of Christ, God's son, there they approached to injure them.)

    (7) Nas þar non so god wif, *þar þe* he lifde his lif, ȝif ȝeð were fair and fore, þat he ne makede hire hore.——*Laȝamon*, O 7025—8. (=There was no good wife, where he lived his life, whom he did not make a whore if she was fair and beautiful.)

    (8) ···hii stille speken *þar þat* hii seten þat Vortiger were worpe to welde þeos riche. ——*Ibid.* 13443—6. (=They spoke stilly where they sat that Vortiger was worthy to govern this realm.) (Cf. C: heo al speken *þer* heo heore mete æten [=where they were eating their food] þat ···)

    (9) Hi gunne for ariue
    Þer king modi was sire.   ——*King Horn*, C 1625—6.
(=They arrived where King Modi was a ruler.)

    (10) Bi dei sum time oder bi niht gederið in ower heorte···þe pinen þe prisuns polieð ant habbeð *þer* ha liggeð wið irn heuie ifeðeret.——*Ancrene Wisse* 19. 7—10. (=Some time by day or by night recollect in your mind the pains that prisoners are suffering where they lie heavily fettered with irons.)

    (11) Witeð awei fram me, forð mid ða dieulen, *ðar* ȝie naure ma eft me ne ȝesien! ——*V. & V.* 19. 32—33. (=Go away from me, forth from the devil, where you will never see me any more again.)

    (12) Waleawa, Eve children, hu ȝie bieð beswiken, ðe secheð blisse wiðuten paradise, *ðar ðe* nan nis!——*Ibid.* 89. 21—22. (=Woe, Eve's children, how are you deceived, who seek bliss without Paradise, where no bliss is !)

    (13) Þatt Cristess Goddcunndnesse wass
        All cwicc annd all unnpinedd,
    Þær Crist wass dæd o rodetreo
        Forr all mannkinne nede;   ——*Orm.* 1434—7.
(=···that Christ's divinity was quite alive and uninjured, where Christ was dead on the cross for all mankind's need.)

    (14) An enngell comm off heffness ærd,
        Inn aness weress hewe,
    Till hirdess *þær þær* þeȝȝ þatt nihht
        Biwokenn þeȝȝre faldess.   ——*Ibid.* 3336—9.
(=An angel, in a man's form, came from Heaven's region to the shepherds where they were watching their sheepfolds that night.)

(15) Annd ec peȝȝ fundenn *pær* pe child
      Pær itt wass leȝȝd i cribbe.   ——*Ibid.* 3400—1.
(=And also they found the child where it was laid in a crib.)
(16) ···ha···lahhen pe to hokere *per* pu o rode hengest.——*Wohunge U. L.* 283. 20—
21. (=They scorn you where you are hanged on the cross.)
(17) Đor god him taunede, made habram
      An alter, and fro ðeðen he nam.   ——*Gen. & Ex.* 757—8.
(=Where God showed Himself, Abram built an altar, and took his way from there.)

Under this category we see double determinative forms, such as *per ∼ per···*, *per per*, *per pe*, and *per pat*. In the correlative constructions " *per ∼ per···* " (ex. 6) or " *pær··· pær ∼* " (ex. 15), demonstrative *per* or *pær* indicates that conjunctive *per* or *pær* precedes or follows it correlatively. This concrete type of double determinative construction is characteristically frequent in Old and Middle English, though it is later to be superseded by " *where ∼ there···* " or " *···where ∼.*" In the juxtapositional type *pare par* (ex. 3) or *pær pær* (ex. 14), the first demonstrative *pare* or *pær* and the second *par* or *pær* have coalesced into a single subordinate conjunction. Here, however, example 3 seems especially instructive in that it retains a good deal of its original structure: *pare*, apparently stressed, rhymes with *ȝare* in the subsequent line.

For *par pe* (ex. 7) and *ðar ðe* (ex. 12), *par ðe* in ex. 8, II Ba, should be compared. The newer form *par pat* (ex. 8), which, together with *par pe*, is found only in the Otho MS. of *Laȝamon* but not in the Caligula MS., is to be preserved till LME.[13] *Vices and Virtues*, the work in the East Midland dialect, is also worth noting. It contains both the single and the double form of *par*. Inclusive of all the four kinds of relative or conjunctional uses, we find there fifteen instances of *ðar* [*par*] and nine of *ðar* [*par*] *ðe* or *ðar* *pe*.

II Cb.

As in the case of the relative adverb, *quuor*, a variant form of *hwar* [*war*], is used as subordinate conjunction, as well, in *Genesis and Exodus:*
(1) So was him lif to wurðen leid,
    Quuor ali gast stille hadde seid
    Him and hise eldere fer ear bi-foren,
    Quuor iesu crist wulde ben boren,
    And quuor ben dead, and quuor ben grauen;   ——2472—31.
(=So it pleased him to be buried where the Holy Ghost had secretly told him and his elders far before him where Jesus Christ would be born, die, and be buried.)

This quotation is particularly suggestive for the historical development of *where* from indefinite-interrogative to conjunctional relative. In these five successive lines are found four *quuor*s, the first of which is evidently a subordinate conjunction introducing an adverbial clause of place. The latter three, though formally identical with the first, are all interpreted as interrogatives that introduce object-clauses dependent on the verb *seid* (= told). In the actual context, however, the two kinds of *quuor* are functionally associated with each other; we might come to a fairly good understanding of the passage by reading

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[13] Cf. Kivimaa: *The Pleonastic* That *in Relative and Interrogative Constructions in Chaucer's Verse* (Helsinki, 1966), pp. 3f., 21.

from the first to the fourth and fifth lines, skipping the two intermediate lines, and making the others mean " ···to be buried where Jesus Christ would be born, die, and be buried."

We find here again the contrastable use of *per* and *war(e)* in the two versions of *Laʒa-mon:*

(2) ···heo him þene king tahten *per* he hundede on comelan wið his hird-iferen i þon wude of Kalatere.——C 6629—32 / ···hii pane king tahte *war* he was an hontinge mid his ivere in pan wode of Kaletere.——O. (=They directed him to the king, where he was hunting with his courtiers [companions] in the wood of Kalatere.)

(3) Buccus þene king icneowen *per* he was i compen.——C 27623—4 / Boccus hii icnewe *war* he was in fihte.——O. (=They knew King Boccus where he was in the combat.)

(4) ···after Penda sende *per* he was ful faste in þen castle of Æxchæstre.——C 31135 —7 / ···after Penda sende *ware* he was wel faste in pan castle of Excestre.——O. (= He sent for Penda where he was very secure in the castle of Exeter.)

It may be observed that in these instances the substitution of *war(e)* for *per* in the later version is in some degree ascribable to the governing verbs which have more or less cognitive sense——*tahte(n)* (=taught, directed to), *icne(o)we(n)* (=knew), and *sende after* (= sent for). Each of these verbs has some semantic potentiality to take as its object a noun clause that is introduced by an interrogative.

II Da.

The more indefinite and generalizing force the local conjunction acquires, the more tendency we have to use the word of indefinite origin, *hwer* [*hwar, war*], often intensified by the enclitic particles *alswo, so, sum*, etc. Even in this use, however, the older word of demonstrative origin, *per* [*par*], still held its ground in EME.

(1) Mid þine pipinge þu adunest
    Þas monnes earen *par* þu wunest.   ——*Owl & N.*, C 337—8.
(=With your piping you din the men's ears wherever you dwell.)

(2) He bi-sohte al þat folc *per* he ford ferde þat heo him solde helpen to muchelere neode.——*Laʒamon*, C 6595—8. (=He besought all the people, wherever he passed forth, to help him in his great need.)

(3) ···nis na god wone *per as* þeose þreo beoð, mihte ant wisdom ant luue iueiet to gederes.——*Ancrene Wisse* 17. 8—10. (=There is no lack of good wherever these three ——might, wisdom, and love——are joined together.)

(4) Se ðe wile cumen after me in to heuene, bere his rode on ierðe swa ic dede, and swo he mai me folʒin and cumen ðar ic am.——*V. & V.* 33. 26—28. (=Whoever will come after me into Heaven, let him bear his cross on earth as I did, and so he may follow me and come wherever I am.)

(5) Ðar ðe ðin hord is, *pær* is þin herte.——*Ibid.* 69. 25. (=Where your hoard is, there is your heart.)

(6) Annd oxe chewwepp *pær* he gaþ
      Hiss cude, annd *tær* he stanndeþþ,
    Annd chewwepp forrþenn *pær* he liþ, ——*Orm.* 1236—8.
(=And the ox chews his cud wherever he goes and wherever he stands and also chews

wherever he lies.)

(7)   Annd forr-þi trowwe icc þat te birrþ
         Wel þolenn mine wordess,
       E33whær þær þu shallt findenn hemm
         Amang Goddspelles wordess.   ——*Ibid.* 51—54.

(=And therefore I believe that you should well tolerate my words wherever you may find them among the words of the Gospel.)

(8)   So may god frið ðor he wile.   ——*Gen. & Ex.* 1520.

(=So may God thrive wherever He will.)

Apart from *ðar ðe* (ex. 5), *þer as* in the quotation (ex. 3) from *Ancrene Wisse* and *e33-whær þær* in the quotation (ex. 7) from the *Ormulum* are to be specially commented on. *Per as* is a new combination that began to be used in some West Midland texts in the thirteenth century[14] but continued into LME, as we shall see several instances of it under the sections III A—Da.   Here *as* (<OE *eal swā* ' all so ') is an intensive particle and has been appended to *þer* so as to reinforce its determinative function.   *As* in *þer as* might thus be compared with *so* in *whereso.*

In *e33whær þær, e33whær* (<OE *æg-hwǣr*[15]) is an indefinite adverb meaning ' everywhere ' and the *þær*-clause following functions as an explanatory appositive. Here *þær* has its determinative force doubly emphasized by the preceding *e33whær*, which is itself an intensified indefinite.   The combination, on the other hand, is suggestive of the potentiality of indefinite *whær* to grow into a relative or conjunctive adverb in the sense of ' wherever,' as we shall see it in II Db.   We should further compare *(æuer) æwher* (ex. 13, II Db) and LME *ay wher* (ex. 6, III Db), either of which means ' wherever ' in itself.

As to example 5, furthermore, we should observe the correlative form " *Ðar ðe* ∼ *þær*···," which has retained the feature of the old double determinative construction.   With this quotation may be compared the LME version by Wyclif, which will be quoted as ex. 4, III Db.

II Db.

i.   The transitional phenomena are shown in the quotations from the different MSS. of the same texts——the Lambeth MS. (of the twelfth century, in the West Midland dialect) and the Jesus College MS. (of the thirteenth century, in the same dialect) of *Poema Morale,* and the Caligula MS. and the Otho MS. of *Laȝamon.*

(1)   He ane is eure an ilche stude, wende *þer* þu wende.——*Poema Morale,* L 86 / He is on ewiche stude, wende *hwer* þu wende.——J 85.   (=He (alone) is (always) in every place, go where you may.)

(2)   Comen *þer* heo comen, æuere heo heom sloȝen.——*Laȝamon,* C 20667—8 / Come *ware* hii come, euere me hii slowe.——O.   (=Come where they might, they always slew the men.)

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[14] Cf. Kivimaa, *Þe and Þat,* p. 142f. and *The Pleonastic That,* p. 21. By the way, unlike him, I should like to consider *as* not merely "pleonastic" but organic, invested with some of its original force as demonstrative.

[15] MED (s.v. AI *adv.*) ascribes ME *e3* [*ai*] to ON *ai,* which corresponds to OE *ā* (=always, ever). OED (s.v. AYWHERE), on the other hand, explains OE *ǣghwǣr* as substitute for *ǣgehwǣr,* which is cognate with OHG *eogihwār* (*ā* ever+*gehwǣr* everywhere) and so equivalent to *ever-ywhere.*   It goes on to say that the compound was phonetically reduced in ME and came to look like a compound of *ay* (=ever) and *where.*

(3)   Arður we wunsum *per* he hafde his iwillen.——*Ibid.*, C 22515—6 / Arthur was wisman *ware* he hadde his wille.——O.   (=Arther was winsom [a wise man] wherever he had his will.)

(4)   Þenne weore he wilcume a þissere worlde-richen, come *per* he come.——*Ibid.*, C 23019—21 / Þanne were he welcome in euereche riche, come *ware* he come.——O. (=Then he would be welcome in every realm in this world, come where he will.)[16]

Of these two, however, the more appropriate way of expression to convey the sense of 'wherever' was the word of indefinite origin, *hwer* [*wher, wer, ware*].   Though it was found, probably more frequently, in the composite forms, we shall first give instances of the single form.

(5)   And þu tukest wrope and vuele,
      Whar þu miȝt over smale fuȝele.   ——*Owl & N.*, C 63—64.
(=And you wreak vengeance cruelly, wherever you can, upon small birds.)

(6)   ···þe sculden witen þat lond and ··· læden here ferde *wher* hit neod weore.—— *Laȝamon*, C 5279—82.   (=···who should guard the land and···lead their army wherever it would be necessary.)

(7)   Whenne þu wult riden, wið þe þu miht hit leden and setten hit *whar* þu wulle, after þine iwille. ——*Ibid.* 22919—22. (=When you are going to ride, you may carry it with you and place it, at your will, wherever you like.)

(8)   Þeȝ horn were under molde,
      Oper elles *wher* he wolde,
      Oper henne a þusend mile,
      Ihc nolde him ne þe bigile.   ——*King Horn*, C 335—9.
(=Although Horn may be under the earth or else wherever he will, or a thousand miles away from here, I won't beguile him nor you.)

(9)   He chæs himm sone kinnessmenn
         All swillke summ he wollde,
      Annd *whær* he wollde borenn ben
         He chæs all att hiss wille.   ——*Orm.* 3498—3501.
(=He soon chose himself whatever kinsmen he wished and chose them all at his will wherever he might be born.)

ii.   In EME *hwer* [*wher, wer, ware*] in the sense of 'wherever' was often intensified in its indefinite or generalizing force by the enclitic particle *so, þe,* or *þat* or by the adverb *eauer*.   *Hwer so* (as in exx. 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18 and 19) goes back to OE *swā hwǣr swā*, from which the first *swā* has been dropped.   For *whar ðe* in the quotation (ex. 16) from *Vices and Virtues* and *war þat* in the quotation (ex. 14) from the Otho MS. of *Laȝamon*, we should compare *þar þe* and *þar þat*, which are also found in the respective works.   In these composite forms, enclitic *þe* and *þat* are to be interpreted as intensifying the indefinite determinative force of *whar* [*war*].   The adverb *eauer* added to *hwerse* (=*hwer-so, se* being a weakened variant of *so*), in the quotation (ex. 15) from *Ancrene Wisse*, presents a proto-

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[16] With these instances of *per* (MS. C) and *ware* (MS. O) in *Laȝamon* it may be worth comparing the following, where *woder* (<OE *hwæder* whither), the indefinite adverb of place that is cognate with *ware*, in MS. O is as well contrasted with *per* in MS. C: "Ælc mon mot liðen *per* his lauerd hine hateð gan."—— C 24859—60 / "Ech man mot wende *woder* his louerd hoteþ."——O. (=Each man must go wherever his lord orders him to.)

type for the modern combining form -*ever* in *wheresoever* or *wherever*.[17]

    (10) Þu praie iheu crist þi sone þat he me i-wisse,

        Ware a londe *al swo* ihc beo þat he me ne i-misse.

                        ——*Prayer V.* 3—4.

(=You pray your son Jesus Christ that he may guide me and not miss me wherever on earth I may be.) [Also cf. 1. 27.]

    (11) Þes word he sendeð···þat heo moten wonien *wer swa* heo wolleð, inne griðe and in friðe.——*Laȝamon,* C 476—480. (=They have sent these words so that they may dwell wherever they will, in peace and in amity.)

    (12) *Whær swa* heo funden æine mon at-wunden···, þa quenen lude loȝen and al hine to-droȝen.——*Ibid.* 12868—73. (=Whenever they found any man escaping, the women laughed loudly and tore him all in pieces.)

    (13) ··· al þat lond he sette an his aȝere hond, and pꞇ monraddene he nom *æuere æwher* he com.——*Ibid.* 13367—72. (=He put all the lanꞇ nto his own hand, and he took the fealty wherever he came.)

    (14) Þo þe drakes ȝaru were, þe oþer was his i-vere, *war þat* he on erþe ladde his ferde. ——*Laȝamon,* O 18210—3. (=When the drakes were ready, the one was his companion, wherever on earth he led his army.) (Cf. C: ···*whar swa* he an ærde ladde hi ferde.)

    (15) ···buheð duneward···*hwerse* ȝe *eauer* hereð Maries nome inempnet.——*Ancrene Wisse* 14. 13—16. (=Bow downward···wherever you hear Mary's name spoken.) (Cf. *Ancrene Riwle* 8. 14—17: ···*hwar so* ȝe *euer* ihereð maries nome inemned.)

    (16) *Whar ðe* godd ȝifð ðese mihte, hit kydh hit sone.——*V. & V.* 109. 12. (=Wherever God gives this might, it soon shows itself.)

    (17) Forr soþfasst lufe bærnepþ aȝȝ,

         Loc ȝiff þu't mihht ohht findenn,

        Annd *whær-s'* itt iss itt harrdnepþ all

        Þe gode manness heorte,   ——*Orm.* 1572—5.

(=For true love always burns, whether you may find it or not, and wherever it is, it strengthens all the good man's heart.)

    (18) Annd ta wass sett tatt iwhillc mann,

         Whær summ he wære o lande,

        Ham shollde wendenn to þatt tun

        Þatt he wass borenn inne,   ——*Ibid.* 3288—91.

(=And then it was decreed that every man, wherever he was in the country, should go home to the town he was born in.)

    (19) *Quor-so* ðe folc was of ysrael,

        He adden ligt and sowen wel.   ——*Gen. & Ex.* 3107—8.

(=Wherever the Israelites were, they had light and saw well.)

    Among the forms of 'whereso' the two in the quotations from the *Ormulum* are further to be commented on. *Whær-s'* (ex. 17) has its final vowel *e* elided from *whær-se* so as to meet the metrical requirement of the verse. *Sum* in *whær summ* (ex. 18) comes from Scandinavian *sum, som,* related to ON *sem.* In both derivation and function it is the exact

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[17] With this "*hwerse···eauer*" should be compared "*hwen se···eauer*" also quoted from *Ancrene Wisse,* which is recorded in my "The Development of *When*," s.v. ex. 43, V. For the OE instances of *ever* in this use, still earlier than the one here given, see my "OE *Þǣr* and *Hwǣr*," s.v. exx. 17 and 18, III.

counterpart of OE demonstrative adverb *swā* (>ModE *so*).[18]

Example 13 may be worth specially remarking. For the combination *æuere æwher* [*euere eȝwher*] we should compare *eȝȝwhær pær*, which was instanced as ex. 7, II Da. Here, however, the emphatic indefinite itself has been turned into a relative conjunction, reinforced by the preposed adverb *æuere* [*euere*]. What is most remarkable is that *wher* has its indefinite and generalizing force doubly emphasized by the preposed elements, unlike all the other instances given in this section, where the emphasizing element follows *wher*. In this respect the combination is analogous to OE *swā hwǣr*, thus retaining the concrete type of expression proper to older English syntax.

III. *LME*

In LME there is indeed a fair advance of *wer* [*hwer, wher(e)*] in the use of relative adverb or subordinate conjunction; but in comparison with the case of *than* [*then*], *tho* versus *hwan* [*whan, when*], the preservation of *par* [*per, ther(e)*] in the sphere of *wer* [*hwer, wher(e)*] is still remarkable. Now two aspects may be mentioned that would deserve particular attention. First, in several LME works, such as *Gawain*, Chaucer, Lydgate, Caxton, and *Gesta Romanorum*, *per* [*ther*] as local relative or conjunction is found alongside *wher(e)*, while as temporal relative or conjunction *whan* [*when*] has been fully established. Secondly, in some other LME works, such as Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, *Piers Plowman*, Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and *Castle of Love*, *per* [*ther(e)*], along with *huer* [*wher(e)*], is also found as local relative or conjunction, while as temporal relative or conjunction both the older *po* [*tho*] and the newer *huanne* [*whan, when*] can be attested. On the other hand, it is rather an unexpected phenomenon that only a few LME works, such as the Wycliffite Version and the *Paston Letters*, so far as I have found out, make an exclusive use of the newer *when* [*whan*] and *wher(e)* as temporal and local connective.

In the sense of 'wherever,' *wher*, or what might be termed its intensified variants, *wher-so, wher that, wher ever*, etc., are used more frequently than in EME, though the older *ther, ther that*, or *ther as* is sometimes still found.

Next, just to get a general notion of how in LME *ther* was preserved, in the relative and conjunctional functions, amid the advance of *wher*, I should like, taking the English of Chaucer as representative of LME, to show the percentage of the instances of *ther* or *ther as*, as against those of *wher* or *wher as*, that are found in Chaucer's main works[19]: *ther* 33%, *ther as* 37%; *wher* 11%, *wher as* 19%——that is, *ther* (*as*) 70% as against *wher* (*as*) 30%.

III Aa.

In examples 1 and 5 below, *par* or *per* as non-restrictive relative might also be interpreted as anaphoric demonstrative. As is the case with examples 5 and 6 under II Aa, these are to be considered suggestive of the incipient stage in the historical process with

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[18] This *sum*-form is especially characteristic of northern works, such as *Cursor Mundi*. See exx. 20 and 27, III Db.

[19] Here, it must be acknowledged, I am dependent upon Professor Kivimaa's statistical statements given in *The Pleonastic* That, pp. 20, 21. By the way, the material for his investigation has been taken from *B.D., H.F., C.T., Tr. & Cr.*, and *L.G.W.*

which we are concerned.

    (1) Þan fell þai depe, or lesse or mare;
        Sum in þe air, sum in the lift,
        Par þai drei ful harde schrift;
        Par þin þai bere opon pam ai,
        And sua sal do to domes dai;   ——*Cursor M.,* C 494—8.

(=Then they fell down, more or less deep, some in the air and others in the sky, where they should suffer from very hard confessions and always bear their pains on them, and so they will do till the domesday.)

    (2) Þis es a sted welt ful wan,
        Par all godes wantes nam;   ——*Ibid.* 641—2.

(=This is a place full of wealth, where no one is lacking in any sort of goods.)

    (3) And in this hous, *ther* ye me lady maade

       ·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

        I nevere heeld me lady ne mistresse,
        But humble servant to your worthynesse,
                        ——Chaucer, *C. T.,* E (*Cl. T.*) 820—4.

(=And in this house, where you made me lady, I never think myself lady or mistress but a humble servant to your worthiness.)

    (4) Prey hire to synken every rok adoun
        Into hir owene dirke regioun
        Under the ground, *ther* Pluto dwelleth *inne,*
                     ——*Ibid.,* F (*Fkl. T.*) 1073—5.

(=I pray her to sink every rock down into her own dark region under the ground where Pluto dwells.)

    (5) And þo he hedde al wel idon,
        He com to þe valeye of Ebron.
        Per he made Adam alast so riche
        Of eorþe after hymself iliche,   ——*Castle of L.* 125—8.

(=And when he had done all this well, he came to the valley of Hebron, where he in the end made Adam out of earth so fine as to resemble himself.)

    (6) For atte neces of his priutee,
        At þe Caane of Galylee,
        A gistnynge he made Architriclyn,
        Per he torned water to wyn.   ——*Ibid.* 1265—8.

(=For at the wedding of his relative at Cana of Galilee he made a feast for the master, where he turned water into wine.)

    (7) Þu made my son on rode be rent,
        Per rewth it was to se hym rest.   ——*Rel. Lyrics* x. 29—30.

(=You had my son rent on the cross, where it was piteous to see him rest.)

    The composite form *per* [*ther*] *as,* which began to appear in West Midland texts in the first half of the thirteenth century (cf. ex. 3, II Da), spread in use in the fourteenth century and came to be used also by East Midland writers, such as Chaucer. The enclitic *as* is indeed sometimes employed to meet the metrical requirement of a verse structure; but the type of combination has originated in the old favoured structure of double determinative,

where *per* and *as* are both of demonstrative derivation. The organic force of *as* is perceived in that in Chaucer *ther as* and *wher as*, as we shall instance it under III A-D b, are often felt as more emphatic than simple *ther* or *wher* and as appropriate for contexts that have more or less emotional colouring. Below we shall quote some LME instances of *per* [*ther*] *as* as non-restrictive relative adverb.

(8)   As he sprent ouer a spenne, to spye þe schrewe,
        Þer as he herd þe howndes þat hasted hym swype,
        Renaud com richchande purȝ a roȝe greue,
        And alle þe rabel in a res, ryȝt at his heleȝ.
                                                        ——*Gawain* 1896—9.

(=As, looking for the wicked fox, he leaped over a hedge, where he heard the hounds hurrying on, Reynard came rushing through a rough thicket, with the pack in all haste just at his heels.)

(9)   And so bifel that, long er it were day,
        This man mette in his bed, *ther as* he lay,
        How that his felawe gan upon hym calle,
                                        ——Chaucer, *C. T.*, B (*N. P. T.*) 4191—3.

(=And it so happened that long before daybreak this man dreamed in his bed, where he lay, that his brother called upon him···)

(10)   ··· after the word of Jhesu Crist, it is the endless blisse of hevene, *ther* joye hath no contrarioustee of wo ne grevaunce, *ther* alle harmes been passed of this present lyf; *ther as* is the sikernesse fro the peyne of helle; *ther as* is the blisful compaignye that rejoysen hem everemo ···; *ther as* the body of man···is moore cleer than the sonne; *ther as* the body···is inmortal ···; *ther as* ne is neither hunger, thurst, ne coold, but every soule replenyssed with the sighte of the parfit knowynge of God.——*Ibid.*, I (*Pars. T.*) 1076—9. (=As Jesus Christ says, it [*i.e.* the fruit of penance] is the endless bliss of heaven, where joy has no opposite quality of sorrow or grievance; where all harms have passed out of this life; where one is free from all the pain of hell; where the blissful company enjoy themselves for ever; where a man's body is clearer than the sun; where the body is immortal; where there is neither hunger, thirst, nor cold, but every soul is filled with the sight of his perfect acquaintance with God.)

In the last quotation, which was composed in a perorational style, Chaucer used in the parallel syntactic positions first two *thers* and then five *ther-as*'s. The alternation of the connectives is apparently in accordance with the progressive increase in the writer's emotional emphasis.

III Ab.

Next we shall see how the word of indefinite-interrogative origin was used as non-restrictive relative in some LME texts.

(1)   For ȝee most leue þis lufsum land,
        Vnto þe wreched werld to gang,
        Quare þou sal thinc þou liues to lang,   ——*Cursor M.*, C 948—50.
(=For you must leave this lovely land for the wretched world, where you will think that

you are living too long.)   (Cf. MS. G: ···þe wretched world ···; *par* þu sal thinck þi liif
þ́ul lang,)

   (2)   And fer ouer þe French flod Felix Brutus
      On mony bonkkes ful brode Bretayn he setteȝ,
                        wyth wynn;
      Where werre and wrake and wonder
      Bi sypeȝ hatȝ wont *per-inne,*
                              ——*Gawain* 13—17.

(=And far over the French flood Felix Brutus joyfully sets Britain on many broad cliffs,
where war, woe and wonder are to recur.)

   (3)   Nyle ȝe tresoure to ȝou tresours in erthe, *wher* rust and mouȝthe distruyeth, and
wher theeues deluen out and stelen; but tresoure ȝee to ȝou tresouris in heuene, *wher*
neither rust ne mouȝthe distruyeth, and *wher* theues deluen nat out, ne stelen.——Wyclif,
Matt. vi. 19—20. (=Don't you gather treasures on the earth, where rust and moths
corrupt them, and where thieves dig them out and steal them; but gather you treasures in
heaven, where neither rust nor moths corrupt them, and where thieves neither dig them
out nor steal them.) (Cf. L: Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra: *ubi* ærugo,
et tinea demolitur: et *ubi* fures effordiunt, et furantur. Thesaurizate autem vobis the-
sauros in cœlo: *ubi* neque ærugo, neque tinea demolitur, et ubi fures non effodiunt, nec
furantur.)

   (4)   And thus, God woot, Mercurie is desolat
      In Pisces, *wher* Venus is exaltat;
      And Venus falleth *ther* Mercurie is reysed.
                  ——Chaucer, *C. T.,* D (*W. B. T.*) 703—5.

=And thus, God knows, Mercury is powerless in Pisces, where Venus is exalted; and
Venus falls where Mercury is raised.)

   (5)   The God of Loue hadde the nat sene,
      Ne had Idelnesse the conueyde
      In the verger *where* Myrthe him pleyde.   ——*Rom. Rose* 3232—4.

(=The God of Love had not seen you, nor had Idleness conducted you into the orchard,
where Mirth was amusing himself.)

   (6)   . . . and als so faste
      Fer into Tibre thei it caste,
      Wher the Rivere it hath defied: ——Gower, *Conf. Am.* I. 1041—3.

(= ··· and immediately they cast it far into the Tiber, where the river has dissolved it.)

   (7)   To london once my steppes I bent,
      Where trouth in no wyse should faynt,
                  ——Lydgate, *L. Lyckpeny* I. 1—2.

(=Once I turned my steps towards London, where truth should never be extinct.)

   (8)   Beft at ane pillar, blaiknit and forbled
      At Locostratus, *quhair* þai leid þe law.   ——*Rel. Lyrics* XCI. 23—24.

(=You were beaten at a pillar, turned pale and covered with blood at Locostratus, where
they laid the law.)

   (9)   I···was born and lerned myn englissh in kente in the weeld, *where* I doubte not
is spoken as brode and rude englissh as is in ony place of englond···——Caxton, *Prol.*

& *Ep.* 4. 27—30. (=I was born and learned my English at the woodland in Kent, where undoubtedly the broadest and rudest English is spoken in all England.)

(10) A-non' after þer was a gret comyng of pepull vn-to þe same cyte *per* þe chylde was *in* vn-to þe fayre, *wher*' all pepull wente vn-to þe fayr'.——*Gesta Rom.*, Glouc. MS. XII. 758. 20—22. (=Soon afterwards a large number of people came to the fair in the same city that the child was in, where all people went to the fair.)

Concerning the transition in question, examples 1, 4 and 10 are especially noteworthy. In example 1, quoted from *Cursor Mundi*, we have *par* in the Göttingen MS. just where the Cotton MS. has recourse to *quare*, the northern form of *whare*. In example 4, quoted from Chaucer, the parallel verses contain *wher* and *ther* in the positions that semantically correspond to each other. It is true that syntactically they fail to belong to the same category; the former is a relative adverb, while the latter is a subordinate conjunction, that is an item which should be assigned to Class C. But semantically we can see that they are very closely associated. The choice of the different syntactic structures in such a poetical passage must have been largely attributed to the metrical requirements of the concrete context; but inquiring into the poet's inner motivation, we might assume that he used *wher* when he had lapsed into a somewhat deliberate process of thinking and that he used *ther* when his thought was running more spontaneously.

Much the same thing can be said of example 10. Here *þer* and *wher* ' (=where) are used to refer to the same antecedent " þe···cyte," though the former is more closely related to the antecedent than the latter, and it should be assigned to Class B——so different it is in syntactical function from the latter. The shift from *þer* to *wher*' in the parallel structures, however, seems to reflect the delicate vacillation in the scribe's feeling towards the two relatives: the former is felt more direct and straightforward than the latter. Whatever the motives, these phenomena, as oberved in examples 4 and 10, indicate the fact that the usage of the local connectives was still in a transitional and fluctuating stage in the LME period.

For the quotation (ex. 3) from the Wycliffite Version of the Bible should be compared Chap. I, exx. 1—6, of my " OE *Þǣr* and *Hwǣr*." Wyclif's exclusive use of *wher(e)* as local relative or conjunction may be described as considerably due to his faithful recourse to the Latin original of the Vulgate.

It should be particularly noticed that the combination of *wher* with the enclitic particle *that* or *as*,[20] either of which is derived from a demonstrative and whose original function is to intensify the determinative force of indefinite *wher*, began to be used in the fourteenth century as definite relative or subordinate conjunction, as well as in the sense of ' wherever.'[21] Below we shall quote some instances of *wher that* and *wher as* as non-restrictive relative adverb.

(11) And evermo that me was wo,
     The more desyre had I to go
     Vnto the roser, *where that* grewe
     The fresshe bothomn so bright of hewe.   ——*Rom. Rose* 1787—90.
(=And the more sorrowful I was, the more desire I had to go to the rosebush, where

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[20] So far as Chaucer is concerned, *ther* [*wher*] *as*, inclusive of all the four uses A—D, is far more frequent than *ther* [*wher*] *that*. As to *wher as* in Chaucer, Kivimaa (*The Pleonastic* That, p. 22) points out that it is commoner with antecedents (that is, in the uses of A and B) than without (that is, in the uses of C and D).

[21] Compare the earlier instance of *war þat* (=wherever), given as ex. 14, II Db.

the fresh buds so bright in colour were growing.)

(12)   Lo thus expondeth Daniel
       The kynges swevene faire and wel
       In Babiloyne the Cite,
       Wher that the wiseste of Caldee
       Ne cowthen wite what it mente;   ——Gower, *Conf. Am.* Pr. 663—7.

(=Behold, thus Daniel explains the king's dream well and beautifully in the city of Baby-lon, where the wisest of the Chaldeans could not tell what it meant.)

(13)   Whan þe feste was do, this man Socrates had hir home to his owune howse, *wher' þat* þey er' to-geder' in pece and in perfyte helt3 long tyme.——*Gesta Rom.*, Glouc. MS. II. 724. 13—15.   (=When the feast was done, this man Socrates took her home to his own house, where they were together in peace and perfect health a long time.) (Cf. MS. W: ···to his owne house, *where as* they lyued in pease and helth longe tyme. / L: ···ad domum suam propriam···, *vbi* per aliqua tempora in pace et in sanitate perfecta adinvicem dies multos duxerunt.)

(14)   And whan he was in this prosperitee,
       Hoom with his wyf he gooth to his contree,
       Nat fer fro Pedmark, *ther* his dwellyng was,
       Where as he lyveth in blisse and in solas.
                              ——Chaucer, *C. T.*, F (*Fkl. T.*) 799—802.

(=And when he was in this prosperity, he went home with his wife to his country, not far from Pedmark, where his dwelling was, and there he lived in bliss and solace.)

(15)   O goode God, muchel oghte to drede swich a juggement, " *ther as* we shullen been alle," as Seint Poul seith, " biforn the seete of oure Lord Jhesu Crist;" *whereas* he shal make a general congregacioun, *whereas* no man may been absent.——*Ibid.*, I (*Pars. T.*) 161—2.   (=O good God, a man ought to dread much such a judgement, "where we should all be," as Saint Paul says, "before the seat of our Lord Jesus Christ;" where he will preside over a general congregation, where no man can be absent.)

(16)   And straght thurghout the salte fom
       He takth his cours and comth him hom,
       Where as he fond Penolope;   ——Gower, *Conf. Am.* VI. 1469—71.

(=And he takes his course straight throughout the salt foam and comes home, where he found Penolope.)

We see in example 14 a parallel use of *ther* and *where as* and in example 15 a threefold use of " *ther as* ∼; *whereas* ∼, *whereas* ∼," each functioning as a non-restrictive relative, which one after another introduces an explanatory clause. In either of the quotations, it is noteworthy, the second relative *where as* [*whereas*] is felt to be somewhat more de-liberate and emphatic than the first *ther* [*ther as*].

Where as in example 16 has been regarded here as referring to the local idea denoted by *hom* (=home), which is descriptively an adverb. If the *where-as*-clause were to be taken as appositive to the local adverb *hom*, it would be treated as an adverbial clause that modi-fies " comth (him hom) " and *where as* should be termed subordinate conjunction and so belong to Class C. In the actual expression, however, the main verbs, *takth* and *comth*, are in the present tense so as to describe the action dramatically, while the subordinate clause, with its predicate verb " fond " in the past tense, is appended as a sort of extraposi-

tional explanation to the main statement. This stylistical consideration has made me treat the clause as non-restrictive relative.

III Ba.

Among the following LME instances of *þer* [*ther*] as restrictive relative the first is especially noteworthy. In this quotation from *Cursor Mundi*, the structure of the *þar*-clause containing the prepositional adverb *amang* (=among) is to be compared with the variant expressions in the different MSS. In MS. F it is expressed by a contact clause with the prepositional adverb at its end, and in MS. G the clause is introduced by the pronominal relative *þat* and has the prepositional adverb appended to its end. This phenomenon shows that in this transitional stage there was a considerable syntactical affinity still externally observable between the two relatives *þat* and *þar*, both originating from the demonstrative stem, Gmc *þa-.

    (1) Þa scorpion for-bare is stang
        Fra besta *þar* he lai *amang;*   ——*Cursor M.*, C 693—4.
(=The scorpion abstained from stinging any of the animals among whom he lay.) (Cf. F: ···fra þe bestes he lay *a-mange* / G: ···Fra bestis *þat* he lay *emonge,*)

    (2) He put him oute wit-outen bade
        Vnto þe weld *þar* he was made.   ——*Ibid.* 943—4.
(=He drove him out without delay into the world where he had been made.)

    (3) Syn ȝe be lorde of þe ȝonder londe *þer* I haf lent *inne,*   ——*Gawain* 2440.
(=Since you are lord of the land where I have stayed, ···)

    (4) Ientily wiþ ioye þe Iustices somme
        Buskide hem to þe bour *þere* þe burde dwelliþ,
        Counfortide hire kyndely be clergies leue,
                     ——*Piers Pl.*, A III. 13—15.
(=Some of the judges, with the clergy's permission, hurried along, gallantly and joyfully, to the bower where the lady dwelt, and kindly comforted her.) (Cf. MS. V: ··· in to þe bour *þere* þe Buyrde was *Inne*···)

    (5) And if so be that thou my lady wynne;
        And sle me in this wode *ther* I am *inne,*
        Thow mayst wel have thy lady as for me.
               ——Chaucer, *C. T.*, A (*Kn. T.*) 1617—9.
(=And if you win my lady and kill me in this wood where I am, you may well have your lady in my place.)

    (6) After hir deeth ful often may she wayte,
        Er that the wilde wawes wol hire dryve
        Unto the place *ther* she shal arryve.   ——*Ibid.*, B (*M. L. T.*) 467—9.
(=Very often she may expect to die before the wild waves drive her to the place where she will arrive.)

    (7) Stood, whan she dorste, and loked on the place
        Ther she was born, and *ther* she dwelt hadde ay;
               ——Id., *Tr. & Cr.* v. 710—11.
(=She stood, whenever she dared, and looked on the place where she was born, and

where she had always dwelt.)

    (8) Þat is þe water of vertu
        Þer vs gostliche streneþ swete Jhesu,   ——*Castle of L.* 1465—6.
(=That is the water of virtue where sweet Jesus begets us spiritually.)

    (9) For here in the same place *there* the grete batayle was, ys grete tresoure hydde in the erthe.——Malory, 38. 16—18. (=For here in the same place where the great battle was, great treasure is hidden in the earth.)

    (10) Balyn···told the knyghte how he fond her as he had slepte fast, and so brought hym in the place *there* she lay fast slepynge.——*Ibid.* 87. 20—34. (= ··· and so brought him into the place where she lay fast asleep.)

    (11) A bare berde wyl sone be shaue
        Þer no here is left aboute;   ——*Rel. Lyrics* CLXXII. 49—50.
(=A bare beard where no hair is left about will soon be shaved.)

    (12) When þei were oute of þe castell and had bene a goode while in þe town, ther come a wolfe and come in-to þe house *per* þe chyld was *in.* ——*Gesta Rom.,* Glouc. MS. XII. 758. 24—25. (Cf. MS. H: ···pere come a wolfe, and enterid in at the yate of the castelle, and yede in to the house *pere* the chylde laye,)

Of the two EME composite forms *par þe* and *par þat,* the former had been lost but the latter had been preserved till LME and was then more frequent. Another composite form *ther as* occurred even more commonly in the function of restrictive relative adverb. The instance of *ther that* given as example 13 below, by the way, is the only one of the combination that is found in all Chaucer's works.

    (13) Hit happed that I cam on a day
        Into a place *ther that* I say,
        Trewly, the fayrest companye
        Of ladyes that evere man with yë
        Had seen togedres in oo place.   ——Chaucer, *B. D.* 805—9.
(=It happened one day that I came to a place where I saw, truly, the most beautiful company of ladies, all assembled together, that a man had ever seen.)

    (14) The grete tour, that was so thikke and stroong,

      •   •   •   •   •   •

        Was evene joynant to the gardyn wal
        Ther as this Emelye hadde hir pleyynge.
                  . ——Id., *C. T.,* A (*Kn. T.*) 1056—61.
(=The great tower, which was so thick and strong, was directly adjacent to the garden wall where this Emily was amusing herself.)

    (15) ···muche bloode they bledde bothe, that all the place *thereas* they fought was ovirbledde with bloode.——Malory, 50. 24—25. (=They both bled so much blood that the place where they were fighting was all covered with blood.)

    (16) This knyght is goynge to the Castell Daungerous *thereas* my systir is beseged. ——*Ibid.* 315. 26—27. (=This knight is going to the Castle Dangerous where my sister is besieged.)

Next we shall see the use of *par* [*ther*] immediately following a preposition and itself introducing a clause as regimen of the preposition. Already in Old English we have such

an instance as: "···stod *ofer þær* þæt cild wæs (*Matt.* ii. 9)²²"; and the function may be regarded as intermediary between the relative and the conjunctional.

(17)   On the morn, wen it was dai,
     Jacob ras *fra þar* he lai,   ——*Cursor M.,* C 3797—8.

(=The next morning, when it was day, Jacob rose from where he lay.)

(18)   For it so longe passed is,
     Sithe ferst than ye fro home wente,
     That welnyh every man his wente
     To there I am, while ye ben oute,   ——Gower, *Conf. Am.* IV. 166—9.

(=For it is such a long time since you first left home that almost every man has come where I am while you are out.)

III Bb.

Here are some instances of LME *wher* as restrictive relative adverb.

(1)   Þe numbre þat out of heuen fell
     Þo can na tung in erth noght tell;
     Ne fra þe trone *quar* he can sitte,
     How farr es in to hell pitte;   ——*Cursor M.,* C 503—6.

(=No tongue on earth can tell how many fell out of heaven, nor how far it is from the throne where he can sit down to the pit of hell.)

(2)   He welk þat fell ner dais thre
     To sek þe sted *quar* he wald be.
     Quen he þe sted sagh *par* he tight,
     Þe child he dide o þe ass light,   ——*Ibid.* 3155—8.

(=He walked through the hill nearly three days seeking the place where he would be. When he saw the place where he had come, he put the child off the ass.) (Cf. T: ··· To seche þe stude *pere* he wolde be. Whenne he coom *pere as* he tiȝt···)

(3)   Þe tauerne ys þe scole of þe dyeule *huere* his deciples studieþ, and his oȝene chapele *per huer* me deþ his seruese, and *per huer* he makeþ his miracles zuiche ase behoueþ to þe dyeule.——Dan Michel, *Ayen. Inw.* 36. 20—24. (=The tavern is the school of the devil where his disciples study and the chapel of his own where they do his service and he makes his miracles, as befits the devil.) (Cf. F: La taverne est l'escole au diable *ou* ses deciples s'estudient e sa propre chapele *la ou* l'en fait son servise e *la ou* il fait ses miracles teles comm il afiert au diable.)

(4)   ···þe lord···was full wrop and toke Ioseph into prisoun *where* þe gyuyd men of þe kyng wern ykepte.——Wyclif, *Gen.* xxxix. 19—20. (=The lord was very angry and put Joseph into the prison where the king's prisoners were kept.) (Cf. L: dominus ···iratus est valde: tradiditque Joseph in carcerem, *ubi* vincti regis custodiebantur, ···)²³

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²² See ex. 1, III ii, in my "OE *Þǣr* and *Hwǣr.*" Also cf. ex. 1, III Cb below.

²³ It may be worth noting that in the Wycliffite Version the prepositional relative pronoun *in þe which* or the pronominal *þat,* instead of *where,* is sometimes used for L *ubi* or *quō* as restrictive relative adverb: "he was torned aȝeyn by þe wey þat he comme fro þe soup in Bethel, vnto þe place *in þe which* befornhond he had fitchid a tabernacle"——*Gen.* xiii. 3. (=He again went his way from the south to Bethel, till he came to the place where he had formerly fetched a tabernacle.) (Cf. L: ··· ad locum *ubi* prius fixerat tabernaculum) / "He forsope areride a stone ne signe of wyrschip in þe place *þat* god speke to hym."——*Gen.* xxxv. 14. (=Indeed he set up a stone as a sign of worship in the place where God had spoken to him.) (Cf. L: ···in loco *quo* locutus fuerat ei Deus).

(5) With moodres pitee in hir brest enclosed,
      She gooth, as she were half out of hir mynde,
      To every place *where* she hath supposed
      By likelihede hir litel child to fynde;

————Chaucer, *C. T.*, B (*Pri. T.*) 1783—6.

(=With mother's pity enclosed in her heart, she went, as if she were half out of her mind, to every place where she had supposed it likely to find her little child.)

(6) With that anon sterte out Daungere,
      Out of the place *where* he was hydde.   ————*Rom. Rose* 3130—1.

(=With that suddenly Danger started out of the place where he was hid.)   (Cf. F: Atant saut Dangier li vilains De *la ou* il s'estoit muciez.)

(7) He bad his man to gon and spire
      A place *wher* sche myhte abyde,   ————Gower, *Conf. Am.* VIII. 1472—3.

(=He bade his man go and inquire for a place where she might dwell.)

(8) Bot soffre me to go mi weie
      Out of this hous *wher* I am *inne*,   ————*Ibid.* VIII. 1452—3.

(=But let me go my way out of this house where I am.)

(9) Arthur···took the swerd bitwene both his handes and offred it upon the aulter *where* the Archebisshop was, ··· ————Malory, 16. 17—19.   (=Arthur took the sword between both his hands and offered it upon the altar where the Archbishop was.)

(10) ···hast betrayed the contre *where* thou were born and the cyte that thou oughtest to kepe.————Caxton, *Hist. of Troye* (Skeat, IX. 188—9).   (=You have betrayed the country where you were born and the city that you ought to protect.)

(11) And in my cuntre but a myle fro the place *where* I was born, is the poure hous of Bromholm of the same ordre, ···————*Paston L.* No. 20 [1430?].

Example 2 should be noted in two respects. First, *quar* is used after the antecedent *þe sted* (=the place) as object of the verb *sek* (=seek), whose semantic and structural features are to be compared with those of *search* as in exx. 4 and 8, II Bb. Secondly, the construction is immediately followed by a parallel one, which comprises the verb *sagh* (=saw) and the relative *par*. We may see here some significant motivation of the substitution of *quar* for *par* in the corresponding function. Example 7, again, is worth remarking. There " *a place*," the antecedent of the relative *wher*, is the object of the verb *spire* (or *spurien* < OE *spyrian* to follow track, investigate, inquire), whose interrogative content makes us expect that it would take as its object a noun clause introduced by the indefinite-interrogative *wher*. In the actual structure, however, we have *wher* as relative anteceded by *a place*, displaying as it were a transitional phenomenon. It is for this syntactical situation that *wher* is felt more appropriate than *ther*.

In those texts whose composition was based upon the French originals, such as *Ayenbite of Inwyt* or *The Romaunt of the Rose*, F *òu* or *la òu* is apparently held responsible for the use of *huer* or *where*, as we see it in examples 3 and 6. Especially *per huer*[24] in example 3 shows itself to be an exact copy of F *la òu*, though this type of double determinative,

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also seen in *par þe* [*pat*], *ther as* [*that*], *wher as* [*that*], etc., is of native origin.

In example 5, quoted from Chaucer, *where* following " to every place " might be better interpreted as meaning ' wherever ' in itself and introducing an adverbial clause that is appositive to the adverbial phrase " to every place." Here again we can see a subtle vacillation of *where* in function from the indefinite to the definite relative.

Concerning the use here treated, we may below refer to a noteworthy instance where *where* structurally introduces a noun clause in the sense of ' the place where ' (cf. exx. 17, 18, III Ba), though it is semantically related to the preceding verb of motion, *cam*, and so suggestive of the function of subordinate conjunction, which belongs to Class C.

(12)   So cam sche to privyly,
           And that was *where* he made his mone
           Withinne a Gardin al him one;   ——Gower, *Conf. Am.* I. 3142—4.

(=So she came to him secretly, where he was moaning inside a garden all by himself.)

As restrictive relatives, too, *wher* was sometimes accompanied with *that* or *as*.

(13)   For Pees bileuep in no londe
           Wher þat is werre, nup, and onde,   ——*Castle of L.* 441—2.

(=For Peace does not believe in any land where there are war, envy, and jealousy.)
(Cf. MS. V: ···*Wher* þer is··· / MS. H: ···*Ther as* werr is nyȝh honde).

(14)   To falle on hym at mor auantage,
           The same way that Tydeus gan drawe
           At thylke mount *wher that* Spynx was slawe.

                                                                  ——Lydgate, *St. of Thebes* 1110—2.

(=···to fall upon him at more advantage in the same road that Tydeus was drawing near, at the very mountain where the Sphinx was killed.)

(15)   The heved of Capricorne is the lowest point *where as* the sonne goth in wynter, and the heved of Cancer is the heighist point in which the sonne goth in somer. —— Chaucer, *Astrolabe* II. xvi. 5—8. (=The head of Capricorn is the lowest point where the sun goes in winter, ···)

(16)   And so one a tyme Merlyon ded shew hir in a roche *whereas* was a grete wondir and wrought by enchauntement that went undir a grete stone.——Malory, 126. 21—23. (=And so once Merlin showed her into a rock where a great wonder was made by an enchantment which lay under a great stone.)

III Ca.

As a subordinate conjunction that introduces an adverbial clause of place, *þer* [*ther(e)*] was still commoner than *wher(e)* in LME.[25]

(1)   Til þai com *þer* þeir fader lay

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[25] We may here note the LME use of *þer* [*ther*] which having retained a good deal of its demonstrative nature introduces a semi-paratactical clause of optative exclamation. It is suggestive of a transitional stage through which the function of *þer* [*ther*] was passing from the demonstrative to the conjunctional adverb. Especially, *ther* in the first instance below is apparently local in meaning, though it introduces an optative clause: "And wente his wey, *ther* God yeve hym meschance!"——Chaucer, *C.T.*, B (*M.L.T.*) 602 / "Arcite is coold, *ther* Mars his soule gye (=guide)!"——*Ibid.*, A (*Kn. T.*) 2815 [cf. also D (*Fr. T.*) 1561, D (*Sum. T*) 2265, E (*Merch. T.*) 1308; *Tr. & Cr.* III. 947, 966, 1437, 1456, v. 1787] // " 'Graaunt mercy,' quop Gawayn, '*Þer* Kryst hit yow for-ȝelde,' "——*Gawain* 838-9. (="Many thanks!" says Gawain. "May Christ requite you for this!")

And him þer wit pan hiled pai;   ——*Cursor M.*, C 2045—6.

(=···till they came where their father lay and then covered him with it.)

(2) Vor he þet wyþhalt oþre manne þing mid wrong be kueade skele zeneȝeþ dyadliche, bote yef he hit yelde *þer* ha ssel yef he hit wot and moȝe hit do.——Dan Michel, *Ayen. Inw.* 9. 32—10. 2. (=For he who withholds other men's things unjustly in an evil manner sins deadly, unless he gives them back where he should, if he knows the place and can do it.)

(3) Lays vp þe luf-lace þe lady hym raȝt,
Hid hit ful holdely, *þer* he hit eft fonde.   ——*Gawain* 1874—5.

(=He laid up the love-lace which the lady had given him, hiding it very faithfully where he might find it later.)

(4) *There* the catte is a kitoun   the courte is ful elyng;
                          ——*Piers Pl.*, B Prol. 190.

(=Where the cat is a kitten, the court is very wretched.)

(5) For thei that ben vnkinde to his   hope I none other,
But thei dwelle *there* Diues is   dayes with-outen ende.
                          ——*Ibid.* XVII. 267—8.

(=For those who are unkind to his people, I cannot help hoping, will dwell eternally where Dives is.)

(6) *Ther* I was free, I moot been in servage.   ——Chaucer, *C. T.*, E (*Cl. T.*) 147.

(=Where I was free, I had to be in servitude.)

(7) *Ther* I was fostred of a child ful smal,
Til I be deed my lyf *ther* wol I lede,
A wydwe clene in body, herte, and al.   ——*Ibid.* 834—6.

(=Where I have been fostered from a very small child, there I will lead my life, a widow clean in body and heart, till I die.)

(8) Upon the morwe, whan that it was day,
To Britaigne tooke they the righte way,
Aurelius and this magicien bisyde,
And been descended *ther* they wolde abyde.
                          ——*Ibid.*, F (*Fkl. T.*) 1239—42.

(=The next morning, when it was day, Aurelius and the magician at his side took the direct way to Brittany and dismounted where they would dwell.)

(9) Bot *ther* I love, *ther* I holde.   ——Gower, *Conf. Am.*, Prol. 389.

(=But where I love, there I stand firm.)

(10) Riht so this knyht on daies brode
In clos him hield, and schop his rode
On nyhtes time, til the tyde
That he cam *there* he wolde abide;   ——*Ibid.* I. 1729—32.

(=···just so this knight kept himself concealed in the broad daytime and went riding in the nighttime till he came where he would stay.)

(11) Muche more feirschupe inouȝ *þer* wes
Þer God Almiȝten his *in* ches.   ——*Castle of L.* 747—8.

(=There was much greater beauty enough where God Almighty chose his one.)

(12) And *elles wher þer* he eode

Muche folk him suwede of feole peode,   ——*Ibid.* 1275—6.

(=And elsewhere, where he went, many people of various lands followed him.)

(13)   And she anon fille in a maner fer,
Speceally whan she saugh the blood
Sprad al the grene aboute *ther* she stood.
——Lydgate, *St. of Thebes* 1274—6.

(=And immediately she fell into a sort of fear especially when she saw the blood spread about all the green where she stood.)

(14)   I wold fayne *ther* my deth shold be.——Malory, 88. 27—28.   (=I would be joyfully where my death should be.)

(15)   I shall bryng you *there* ye may be herbourde.——*Ibid.* 173. 3—4.   (=I shall bring you where you may be lodged.)

(16)   And þe stere before hem glode

.   .   .   .

Vntyll þie were *per* ihū lay,
Woondyn in a cryb of hey.   ——*Ryl. Lyrics* LXXXIX. 30—33.

(=And the star passed on before them until they were where Jesus lay, enclosed in a crib of hay.)

(17)   And *there* were they two at counceill Anthenor seyd to hym he shold take this some of gold. ——Caxton, *Hist. of Troye* (Skeat, IX. 14—16). (=And where they two were at counsel, Anthenor told him to take that sum of gold.)

In examples 7 and 9, the correlative construction " *ther* ∼ *ther* ··· " reminds us of the old double determinative construction which has outwardly preserved some paratactical nature.   Example 11 is also in a similar construction, though here the principal clause precedes the subordinate one.

The combination *elles wher per* in example 12 is to be specially noticed.   Here the compound indefinite adverb *elles wher* (=elswhere) is followed by *per* introducing an appositionally adverbial clause.   We might perceive some suggestion of the developmental aspect that the determinative force latent in the indefinite, activated by the word of demonstrative derivation, was going to display the function as subordinate conjunction.   The phenomenon may thus be assigned to the transitional stage between Ca and Cb (or Db).

Next we shall observe some LME instances of *ther(e) as* as subordinate conjunction.

(18)   Bot styply he start forth vpon styf schonkes,
And runyschly he raȝt out, *pere as* renkkeȝ stoden,
Laȝt to his lufly hed, and lyft hit vp sone,   ——*Gawain* 431—3.

(=But firmly he started forth on his strong legs, fiercely reached out, where the men stood, towards his comely head, and immediately lifted it up.)

(19)   *There as* wratthe and wranglyng is   *there* wynne thei siluer,
Ac *there* is loue and lewte   thei wil nouȝte come *there;*
——*Piers Pl.*, B IV. 34—35.

(=Where there is strife and wrangling, there they gain silver; but where there is love and fidelity, there they will not come.)   (Cf. C [v. 35—36]: For *ther* wratthe and wranglyng ys *ther* their wolle a-byde; Ac *ther* loue and leaute ys hit lyketh nat here hertes:)

(20)   His spirit chaunged hous and wente *ther,*
As I can nevere, I kan nat tellen wher.

—Chaucer, *C. T.*, A (*Kn. T.*) 2809—10.

(=His spirit changed its abode and went where I never came, I cannot tell where.)

(21) For *ther as* wont to walken was an elf,

Ther walketh now the lymytour hymself

In undermeles and in morwenynges,   —*Ibid.*, D (*W. B. T.*) 873—5.

(=For where an elf was used to walking, there now walks the holy friar himself in the mid-afternoon and in the morning.)

(22) And forth he wente, shortly for to telle,

Ther as Mercurye sorted hym to dwelle.   —Id., *Tr. & Cr.* v. 1826—7.

(=And he went forth, to put it shortly, where Mercury had allotted him to dwell.)

(23) For whanne I am *ther as* sche is,

Though sche my tales noght alowe,

Ayein hir will yit mot I bowe,

To seche if that I myhte have grace: —Gower, *Conf. Am.* I. 1282—5.

(=For when I am where she is, I must bow against her will, though she does not allow me to speak, and beg if I may have grace.)

(24) And forth she gooth and touched hym ful softe,

Ther as he lay, with her hondes smale;

—Lydgate, *St. of Thebes* 1284—5.

(25) Now lete me see whether ye can putte the swerd *theras* it was and pulle hit oute ageyne.——Malory, 14. 22—24. (=Now let me see whether you can put the sword where it was and pull it out again.)

(26) But *thereas* mannes herte is sette he woll be loth to returne.——*Ibid.*, 97. 26—27. (=But where a man's heart is set, he will be reluctant to turn away from it.) [*thereas*=from the place where][26]

(27) And *ther as* mane can schape no remedy,

Schew ye youre myght, youre grace and your goodnesse

To youre sarvant that lythe in grete dystresse.

—*Rel. Lyrics* XXXII. 5—7.

(=And where no man can find any remedy, show your might, grace, and goodness to your servant who is in great distress.)

For this kind of local connective example 20, quoted from Chaucer, is especially enlightening. It may be described that in the passage *ther as* is as it were analyzed into its components so as to occur in an enjambement; but from a genetical point of view, we would rather say that *ther as* has been reduced to its original structure so that *ther* can display explicitly its own demonstrative nature and *as* its determinative force.

With *ther(e) as* as clause-introducer, also, we see the instances of the correlative construction " *ther(e) as* ∼ *ther(e)* ⋯" in examples 19 and 21. Example 19, quoted from *Piers Plowman*, B, exhibits a noteworthy phenomenon in that the successive parallel verses contain " *There as* ∼ *there* ⋯" and " *there* ∼ ⋯ *there*." It may be perceived here that *there as*, a mere variant of *there*, has been appropriated to fit the tone of the verse that is

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[26] Here it may be noted that in Malory *thereas* is also used to indicate contrast rather than local relation meaning 'whereas, although,' as in: "*thereas* I may nat acquyte you, God shall."——177. 16—17; and even in an independent clause to mean 'there,' as in: "hereby be forestes full fayre, and *thereas* oure foomen many."——228. 6—7. (=In this neighbourhood there are some very fine forests, and a great many enemies there.)

apparently more emphatic than the one where simple *there* is used.

III Cb.

In the LME period *wher(e)*, or its composite form *wher(e) that* or *wher(e) as*, as subordinate conjunction was advancing in the sphere where *per* [*ther*] had hitherto been predominant, though it must be described in a number of cases that the choice of *ther(e)* (*as*) or *wher(e)* (*as*) was still fairly arbitrary.[27]

   (1) ···the sterre···wente bifore him, til that it cummynge stood aboue, *wher* the child was.——Wyclif, *Matt.* ii. 9. (=The star went before him, till it came and stood over where the child was.) (Cf. L: stella···antecedebat eos usque dum veniens staret supra, *ubi* erat puer.)

   (2) And looketh now, *wher* moost sorwe is herinne,
      Ther wol we first amenden and bigynne.
                    ——Chaucer, *C. T.*, A (*Kn. T.*) 3073—4.
(=And look now, where there is the greatest sorrow, there we will first amend it and begin afresh.)

   (3) *Ther* I was wont to be right fressh and gay
      Of clothyng and of oother good array,
      Now may I were an hose upon myn heed;
      And *wher* my colour was bothe fressh and reed,
      Now is it wan and of a leden hewe——
      Whoso it useth, soore shal he rewe !——
                    ——*Ibid.*, G (*C. Y. T.*) 724—9.
(=Where I used to be fresh and gay in nice dress and other good gear, now I must wear a hose on my head; and where my colour was both fresh and red, now it is wan and of a leaden hue——whoever practises it, woe be to him !)

   (4) Thou arte woxe to famyliere
      Where thou shulde be straunge of chere,
      Stoute of thy porte, redy to greue.   ——*Rom. Rose* 4013—5.
(=You have grown too familiar where you should be reserved, and are stout in your behaviour, ready to be displeased.)

   (5) *Ther* make thei non other skile
      Where is the peril of the feith, ——Gower, *Conf. Am.*, Prol. 380—1.
(=They make no other reasoning where the faith is in peril.)

   (6) I shall brynge you *where* he ys.——Malory, 110. 21—22.

   (7) So than they departed and cam to Sir Mordred *where* he had a grymme oste of an hondred thousand, ···——*Ibid.* 1234. `32—33.

   (8) Parfor pray we po trinite
        Pat we be neuur pedir dyght,
      Ffor pat had bene our ful ryght, ——
        Qware pyne is bittur os is pe galle——
               ——*Rel. Lyrics* LII. 43—46.

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[27] Cf. T. F. Mustanoja: *A Middle English Syntax*, I (Helsinki, 1960), p. 338.

(=Therefore let us pray the Trinity that we may never be directed there——for that would have been very proper for us to do——where pain is as bitter as the gall is.)

(9)   *Wher* it beffore wasse ryght lyght
And warme, that ys nowe ffull colde.   ——*Ibid.* CLXXIII. 3—4.

(=Where it was formerly very light and warm, it is now very cold.)

(10)   And the thousand knyghtes yssued out, and *where* they fonde þe Troians they slewe hem in their howsis, *where* they slepte as they that thought on no thinge.—— Caxton, *Hist. of Troye* (Skeat, IX. 154—6). (=And the thousand knights rallied out, and where they found the Trojans they killed them in their houses, where they were asleep as if thinking of nothing whatever.) [The second *where* is a non-restrictive relative adverb, and so should be assigned to Class III Ab.]

(11)   And *where* the seyd Walter···was remytted to the kynges prison at Norwich by cause of the seyd sute, the seyd Walter yede at large owt of warde fro the seyd xvj. day of Jull' to the seyd day of the makyng of the seyd arbitrement and award, ··· —— *Paston L.* No. 6 [1424].

(12)   ···at þe yeres ende thow schalt be put doun and exiled out of the reine, *wher'* þou schalt lede an harde lyfe and wrechedly.——*Gesta Rom.*, Glouc. MS. 728. 2—5. (=···at the end of the year you shall be put down and exiled out of the kingdom, where you shall lead a hard life and die wretchedly.) (Cf. MS. W: at the yeres ende thou shalte be exyled into suche a place, *where as* thou shalt dye a myscheuous deth. / L: in fine anni expulsus eris et in exilium positus *vbi* mala morte morieris.)

(13)   ···hym aw3te not haue comen' neuer no mor' *per'*, *wher'* so myche harme he had be-for.'——*Ibid.* 756. 13—15. (=He ought never to have come any more where he had had so much harm.) (Cf. MS. A: he ··· never shuld have gone agayn no more, *wher* he had so many evels.)

In example 3, quoted from Chaucer, we see a parallel use of *ther* and *wher* in the corresponding function, both standing at the beginnings of the adverbial clauses in the antithetical statements. From a metrical point of view, it might be noticed that *ther* is expressed in an unstressed position and *wher* in a stressed one.

In example 2 we have a correlative construction " *wher* ～ *ther* ···." Comparing it with " *ther* ～ *ther* ···," as seen in exx. 7, 9 and 19 under III Ca, we can see that the newer form is outwardly more distinct and so likely to display more expressive value than the older form and that it may be said to be on the way of replacing the latter.

In examples 5, 8 and 13, on the other hand, the conjunctional relative *wher(e)* or *qware* is preceded by the antecedent *ther* [*per*] or *pedir* (=thither; <OE *pider*). The conspicuous case is observed in the juxtapositional " *per'*, *wher'* " in example 13, where demonstrative *per* and relative *wher* are brought to stand side by side.[28] We might here compare F *la où*.

Next, let us see some instances of the composite form *wher(e) that*.

(14)   And such a smoke gan out wende
Out of his foule trumpes ende

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[28] It may be worth comparing the following ModE instances where we find the corresponding combination still maintained in the seventeenth century: "*there where* we look for Salvation, we must look also for Triumph"——Hobbes, *Leviathan* III. XXXVIII / "···*there*, and *there* only, is political society *where* every one of the members hath quitted this natural power,···"——Locke, *Two Treatises of Civil Government* II. VII.

Blak, bloo, grenyssh, swartish red,

As doth *where that* men melte led, ——Chaucer, *H. F.* 1645—8.

(=And such a smoke went out of the end of his foul trumpet, black, blue, greenish, dark red, as goes out where people melt lead.)

(15)   The sooner that dethe hym slo,

To paradyse the sooner go

He shal, *there* for to lyue in blysse,

Where that he schal no good mysse.   ——*Rom. Rose* 5643—6.

(=The sooner he dies, the sooner he will go to Paradise, to live in bliss where he will not miss any good.)

(16)   Whan sir Gawayne was ware of that gay knyght, than he gryped a grete spere and rode streyght towarde hym on a stronge horse for to mete with that sterne knyght *where that* he hoved.——Malory, 229. 4—7.   (= ··· to meet that stern knight where he remained.)

Here again it may be remarked that in example 15 *where that* is preceded by the antecedent demonstrative *there*.

Another composite form, *wher(e) as*, whose use is commoner than that of *wher(e) that* in the function concerned, is instanced as follows:

(17)   I sey nat thou shalt be so coward that thou doute *ther wher as* is no drede.——Chaucer, *C. T.*, B (*Mel. T.*) 2516.   (=I don't say that you will be such a coward as to fear where there is no dread.)

(18)   For he the dremes of the kyng expowned,

Whereas in Chaldeye clerk ne was ther noon

That wiste to what fyn his dremes sowned.   ——*Ibid.*, B (*M. T.*) 3346—8.

(=For he expounded the king's dreams where there was no clerk in Chaldea who could tell what they meant.)

(19)   ··· than is it divided in smale parties of azymutz, as est, and est by south, *where as* is the first azymut above the est lyne; ··· ——Id., *Astrolabe* II. xxxi. 17—20. (=Then it is divided into smaller parts of azimuths, east and east-by-south, where the first azimuth is above the east line.)[29]

(20)   This Emperour out of the toun

Withinne a ten mile enviroun,

Where as it thoghte him for the beste,

Hath sondry places forto reste;   ——Gower, *Conf. Am.* II. 1473—6.

(=This emperor had several places to rest within a ten miles radius of the town, where it seemed best to him.)

(21)   *Wher-as* he stood, this myghty champioun,

Be side he saugh, with water turned doun,

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[29] In Chaucer *where as* or *where that* occurs not only as a relative conjunction but sometimes as an interrogative introducing a clause that depends upon a verb or verbal expression of cognitive signification.   The first of the instances below is suggestive in this respect: "··· wayte *where* thin almury touchith the bordure, and there set a prikke.   ···wayte eftsonys *where as* thin almury touchith the bordure, and set there a nother prikke."——*Astrolabe* II. xxviii. 3—8.   (= ···watch where your denticle touches the rim, and there set a prick.   ···watch again where your denticle touches the rim, ···) / He was war, as he caste his eye aside, *Where that* ther kneled in the heighe weye A compaignye of ladyes, ··· ——*C. T.*, A (*Kn. T.*) 896—8. (=He was aware, as he cast his eyes aside, where there kneeled in the highway a company of ladies.)

An huge stoon, large, rounde, and squar;

——Lydgate, *St. of Thebes* 1163—5.

(=This mighty champion, where he stood, saw beside him a huge stone, large, round and square, turned downward by the water.)

We see that in example 17, quoted from Chaucer's prose work, *wher as* has displayed its relative force so as to be immediately combined to the antecedent *ther*. Just as is the case with "*per*', *wher*'" (ex. 13), the combination *ther wher as* is apparently more intensive than simple *ther*, which would be assigned to Class Ca.

On the other hand, *where as* can be followed by the other particle *that* so as to constitute the threefold form *where as that*. The following is the only instance of *where as that* that can be found in Chaucer.

(22)   Body and soule he with the devel wente
        Where as that somonours han hir heritage.

——Chaucer, *C. T.*, D (*Fr. T.*) 1639—41.

(=He, body and soul, went with the devil where summoners have their allotted place.)

Concerning the use of *where as* as subordinate conjunction of place, we might now note how *where as* as local connective was to be discarded and the same form came to be established as a conjunction of illative or adversative relation, the last sense being the prevalent one of ModE *whereas*. The semantic development began to take place in the fifteenth century when the use of simple *where* was going to prevail as a relative adverb or subordinate conjunction of place. This tendency caused *where as*, which was evidently felt more emphatic, to be functionally differentiated and specifically appropriated for a means to indicate a more abstract, logical, and putative relation. OED (s. v. WHEREAS 2, 3) cites, as the earliest quotations of *whereas* meaning 'inasmuch as' and 'while on the contrary,' from 1424 (*Paston Letters*) and 1535 (Coverdale, *2 Esdras* vii. 5) respectively. Example 18 above, however, suggests that the semantic shift of *whereas* from the local to the adversative signification was starting as early as the age of Chaucer.[30]

III Da.

In LME *ther(e)*, *ther(e) that*, or *ther(e) as* is still found as indefinite relative conjunction meaning ' wherever '; but as may be anticipated, there are far less instances of the use attestable than instances of *wher(e)*, *wher(e) as*, *wher(e) so*, etc., which we shall deal with under III Db. In those instances *ther(e)* is invested with the sense of ' wherever,' not on its own account, but by the context, where *ther(e)* as subordinate conjunction has been made to assume some generalizing force. *Ther(e)* or *ther(e) as* in this sense can also be correlated with demonstrative *ther(e)*, as in examples 1, 4, and 11 below.

(1)   *There* parfit treuthe and pouere herte is   and pacience of tonge,
       There is Charitee, the chief chaumbrere   for god hymselue !

——*Piers Pl.*, B xix. 99—100.

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[30] The following instance quoted from Chaucer evidently illustrates the use of *whereas* indicating an adversative relation: "··· is it resoun that he have harm that by his ınpacience medleth hym of the noyse of another man, *whereas* it aperteneth nat unto hym."——*C. T.*, B (*Mel. T.*) 2733. (=It is natural that he should be harmed who through his impatience meddles in the rumour of another man while it does not belong to him.) Cf. H. Eitle: *Die Satzverknüpfung bei Chaucer* (Heidelberg, 1914), p. 17.

(=Where there are perfect truth, poor heart, and patience of tongue, there is Charity, the chief chamberlain for God himself !)

(2) Ful byg he was of brawn, and eek of bones.
     That proved wel, for *over al ther* he cam,
     At wrastlynge he wolde have alwey the ram.
                                        ——Chaucer, *C. T.*, A (*Prol.*) 546—8.

(=He was very big in muscles and also in bones. That well proved to be true, for wherever he came, he would always have the ram as prize.)

(3) Wel litel thynken ye upon my wo,
     That for youre love I swete *ther* I go.   ——*Ibid.*, A (*Mil. T.*) 3701—2.

(=Very little do you think of my woe that I should sweat for love of you wherever I go.)

(4) *Ther* dronkenesse regneth in any route,
     Ther is no conseil hyd, withouten doute.   ——*Ibid.*, B (*M. L. T.*) 776—7.

(=Wherever drunkenness reigns in any company, there is, without doubt, no secret hidden.)

(5) So atte laste he moste forth his weye,
     And forth he fleeth til he cam *ther* hym leste.
                                        ——*Ibid.* F (*Sq. T.*) 604—5.

(=So at last he had to go on his way and fled forth till he came wherever he pleased.)[31]

(6) For also wel sche myhte seie,
     ' Go tak the Mone *ther* it sit,'
     As bringe that into my wit: ——Gower, *Conf. Am.* I. 1317—8.

(=For she might as well say, " Go and take the moon wherever it befits," as bring that into my mind.)

(7) Of vche goodschipe Pees is ende,
     Ne faylep no weole *per* heo wol lende;
     Ne wisdam nis not worp an hawe
     Per Pees faylep to felawe,   ——*Castle of L.* 503—6.

(=Peace is the end of every good deed. No happiness fails where she will remain; no wisdom is worth a haw where Peace fails to follow it.)

We might remark here the phrasal expression *over al ther* in example 2. From Chaucer we can quote two other instances of *over al ther* (=wherever): *C. T.*, B (*W. B. T.*) 237 and *C. T.*, D (*Sum. T.*) 2212.[32] Here *over al* (<OE *ofer eall*) is a composite adverb meaning ' in every direction, everywhere' (cf. OED, s.v. OVERALL *adv.* 1) and is followed by the *ther*-clause as its appositive amplification. At the same time, it functions as a sort of antecedent for the relative *ther*. From another point of view, *over al* may be understood as emphasizing the function of *ther* as a relative conjunction of place and imparting to it a good deal of generalizing force. The combination might therefore be compared with Orm's *eȝȝ whær pær*, given as example 7 under II Cb, and also with *ay wher* and *ayware whare*, given as

[31] Concerning Chaucer's use of *ther* in the sense of 'wherever,' it would be worth noting that he once had recourse to *ther ever*, though its connotation is rather temporal than local: "*ther ever* ye fynde, whyl ye lyve, A trewer servant to yow than am I, Leveth *thanne*, and sleeth me hardely,"——*Compl. L.* 110—2. (= Whenever you find, while you are alive, a truer servant to you than I, then forsake and kill me without hesitation.)

[32] Also compare *over al ther as* (ex. 10, below) and *over al wher that* [so] (exx. 13, 23 under III Db).

examples 6 and 9 under III Db respectively.

The impersonal construction " *ther* hym leste " in example 5 is a typical expression that is syntactically characteristic of this kind of adverbial clause in Middle English. It should be compared with these kindred expressions that will be treated under III Db: *where hym list* (ex. 5), *wher that hem liste* (ex. 12), *where as hem liste go* (ex. 16), *wher-so yow lyst* (ex. 22), and *wher as evere him lest to···* (ex. 37).

(8) For *there that* pouerte passeth   pees folweth after,

———*Piers Pl.*, B xiv. 302.

(=For wherever poverty passes, peace follows it.) (Cf. C [xvii. 141]: For *ther as* pouerte passeth pees folweth commenliche,)

(9) He was an esy man to yeve penaunce,

Ther as he wiste to have a good pitaunce.

———Chaucer, *C. T.*, A (*Prol.*) 223—4.

(=He was an easy man to give penance wherever he knew that he would have a good allowance.)

(10) And *over al, ther as* profit sholde arise,

Curteis he was and lowely of servyse.   ———*Ibid.* 249—50.

(=And wherever profit was likely to arise, he was courteous and humble in his service.)

(11) *Ther* poverte is, as seith Diogenes,

Ther as vitaile is eek so skars and thinne

That noght but mast or apples is therinne.

But, *ther as* bagges been and fat vitaile,

Ther wol they gon, and spare for no sinne

With al hir ost the cite for t'assaile.   ———Id., *Form. Age* 35—40.

(=Where food is also so scarce and meagre that there is nothing but mast or apples, as says Diogenes, there is poverty; but where purses and food are fat, there they will go and will not refrain from any sin to assail the city with all their host.)

(12) Til ate laste he knew and herde

How that an other hadde leve

To love *there as* he mot leve,   ———Gower, *Conf. Am.* ii. 112—4.

(=···till at last he heard and knew that another was able to love wherever he might stay.)

If we compare the correlative constructions " *Ther* ··· *Ther as* ~. But *ther as* ~ *Ther* ···" (ex. 11) with the similar type of construction "*There* ~ *There* ···" (ex. 1) or "*Ther* ~ *Ther* ···" (ex. 4), we shall see clearly enough that the composite conjunction *ther as* in the former is more emphatic and so more appropriate for introducing the antithetical series of statement than the simple *ther(e)* in the latter.

III Db.

It may be considered a matter of course that in LME the indefinite and generalizing relative adverb of place was more commonly performed by *wher(e)* or the several composite forms in which *wher(e)* has its indefinite force explicitly intensified. As for the latter, we exemplified in II Db some composite forms, such as *whare alswo, wher swa, war pat, hwar so euer*, etc., already used in EME; and in LME we have the expressions for 'wherever' more frequent and more formally variegated. Below, in giving instances of these forms

we shall classify them, besides i. simple *wher(e)*, as follows: ii. *wher(e) that*, iii. *wher(e) as*, iv. *wher(e)-so[-sum, -ser]*, v. *wher(e)-so that*, vi. *wher(e)-so[-sum]-ever*, vii. *wher(e) ever*, viii. *wherever that*, ix. *wher(e) that ever*, and x. *wher(e) as ever*.

    i. (1) Þat ilk priest may *were* he gase

            Here man scrift, asoil, and rede,

            Þat es quen man es in wath o dede.   ——*Cursor M.*, C 26191—3.

(=The same priest, wherever he goes, can shrive, absolve, and advise a man when he is in danger of death.)

    (2) Þis watȝ þe kynges countenaunce *where* he in court were,   ——*Gawain* 100.

(=This was the king's custom wherever he might keep court.)

    (3) For we will wisse the kyng   and thi wey shape,

          To be wedded at thi wille   and *where* the leue liketh,

                                    ——*Piers Pl.*, B III. 17—18.

(=For we will inform the king and smooth the way to be married at your will and wherever you may live.)

    (4) Forsothe *wher* thi tresour is, *there* and thin herte is. ——*Wyclif, Matt.* vi. 21.

(=For where your treasure is, there is also your heart.) (Cf. L: *Ubi* enim est thesaurus tuus, *ibi* est et cor tuum.)

    (5) Allas, I se a serpent or a theef,

          That many a trewe man hath doon mescheef,

          Goon at his large, and *where* hym list may turne.

                    ——Chaucer, *C. T.*, A (*Kn. T.*) 1325—7.

(=Alas, I have seen a serpent or a thief do a mischief to many a true man, go at large, and turn wherever he chooses.)

    (6) Now hym he hurte, and hym al down he caste;

          Ay wher he wente, it was arayed thus:

                    ——Id., *Tr. & Cr.* II. 109—200.

(=Now he hurt them and cast them all down. Wherever he went, it was so destined.)

    (7) My thankes, wol I not haue fayled

          To pull a rose of al that route

          To bere in myn honde aboute,

          And smellen to it *where* I went;   ——Id., *Rom. Rose* 1666—9.

(=I would never have failed to pull a rose with all its root to carry about in my hand and smell wherever I might go.)

    (8) It hath and schal ben everemor

          That love is maister *wher* he wile,

          Ther can no lif make other skile;   ——Gower, *Conf. Am.* I. 34—36.

(=It has been and always will be true that Love is master wherever he will, where no one can do anything else reasonable.)

    (9) Than yschewes þe emperour,   armede at ryghtes,

        ·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

          With weches and warlaws   to wacchen his tentys,

          Ayware whare he wendes   wyntres and ȝeres.

                    ——*Morte Arthure* 610—4.

(=Then, year after year, the emperor appears, fully armed, ···with witches and wizards

to watch his tents, wherever he goes.)

(10) And *wher* ye be, my lorde sir Launcelot, doute ye nat but I woll be wyth you,
wyth the servyse that I may do. ——Malory, 826. 4—5. (=And wherever you are, my
Lord Sir Launcelot, don't doubt that ···)

The emphatic form *ay wher* [*ayware*] in examples 6 and 9 should be specially commented
on. Here the prefixal adverb *ay-* (<OE *ǣg* ever, always) emphasizes the indefinite or
generalizing force of *wher* [*war*]. In example 9 the emphatic indefinite adverb *ayware*, which
means 'anywhere, everywhere' in itself,[33] is used as if it were an antecedent of the relative
whare, and the combination *ayware whare* reinforces the meaning 'wherever.' In example
6 *ay wher* itself performs the function of emphatic indefinite relative 'wherever.' They
are thus to be compared morphologically with Orm's *eʒʒwhær pær* (ex. 7, II Da) and
Laʒamon's *æure æwher* (ex. 13, II Db), and functionally with Chaucer's *overal where that*
(ex. 13 below).

Example 8 should also be remarked in that the same content comprises both *wher* and
ther, the latter introducing the second adverbial clause which may be structurally inter-
preted as appositive to the first one " *wher* he wile." Here *ther*, which is to be assigned
to Class Ca, is apparently far weaker than *wher* in functional force.

In example 5, indefinite *where* seems to be well appropriated to the idiomatic imper-
sonal construction " *where* hym list." It would not be irrelevant here to refer to the other
instances of the same construction in Chaucer: *wher hym list* (C. T., A (*Kn. T.*) 1351), *where
hym leste* (subj.) (*Ibid.* 1848), *where hym list* (B (*Sh. T.*) 1514), *go wher thee liste* (*subj.*) (D
(*W.B.P.*) 318), *wher hym lest* (*Tr. & Cr.* II. 306), and *where hym liste* (pret.) (*Ibid.* 949).

ii. (11) Zuyfte hy byep, vor *huer pet* pe gost wyle by, uorzope *per* is pet body.——
Dan Michel, *Ayen. Inw.* 269. 8—9. (=They are swift, for wherever the spirit wishes
to be, there is truly the body.)

(12) For wo was hym, that what to doon he nyste,
      But bad his folk to gon *wher that* hem liste.
                              ——Chaucer, *Tr. & Cr.* I. 356—7.

(=For woe was to him who did not know what to do but bid his people go wherever
they liked).

(13) For *overal where that* I myne eyen caste
      Were treës clad with leves that ay shal laste,   ——Id., *P. F.* 172—3.

(=For wherever I cast my eyes, trees were clad with leaves that would be everlasting.)

(14) And *where that* he rydyth all he destroyes. ——Malory, 205. 26. (=And wher-
ever he rides, he destroys everything.)

As to example 11, the correlative construction "*huer pet* ∼ *per* ···" should be noted.
The idiomatic impersonal structure "*wher that hem liste* (pret.)" in example 12 is kindred
with "*where hym list*" in example 5 above. We can give from Chaucer and *The Romaunt
of the Rose* the following instances of the same construction: *wher that hym liste* (C. T., A

(*Kn. T.*) 1207) and *where that the lyst* (*Rom. Rose* 3447).

   iii. (15) Whan it is nyght, we wol this tresor carie,

         By oon assent, *where as* us thynketh best.

                  ——Chaucer, *C. T.*, C (*Pard. T.*) 800—1.

(=When it is night, we will carry this treasure, with one assent, wherever we think best.)

   (16) And often with hire freendes walketh shee,

       Hire to disporte, upon the bank an heigh,

       Where as she many a ship and barge seigh

       Seillynge hir cours, *where as* hem liste go. ——*Ibid.*, F (*Fr. T.*) 848—51.

(=And she often walked with her friends to amuse herself, on the high bank, where she saw many ships and barges sailing their courses, wherever they pleased to go.)

   (17) And this men sen, thurgh lacke of love

       Where as the lond divided is,

       It mot alate fare amis: ——Gower, *Conf. Am.*, Pr. 892—4.

(=And we can see that wherever the land is divided for lack of love, things must assuredly go amiss.)

   (18) ··· mekeli beseching ··· *where as* ther is defawte, that she arette hyt to the symplenes of my connyng ··· ——Caxton, *Prol. & Ep.* 5. 22—28. (= ··· humbly beseeching ··· that wherever there is any defect, she may attribute it to the simpleness of my learning ···)

In the same context, example 16, we see two different uses of *where as*. The first *where as* functions as non-restrictive relative and so is to be assigned to Class Ab. The second occurs in the impersonal clause " *where as hem liste* (pret.) *go.*" The other instances of the same construction in Chaucer are: *whereas hym liste* (subj.) (*Tr. & Cr.* iv. 1358) and *where as hym lest* (*Ibid.* v. 753).

   iv. (19) Wit all þou sal bi halden vile,

        Quar-sa þou wendes in exile.   ——*Cursor M.*, C 1153—4.

(=You shall be considered vile, wherever you go in exile.) (Cf. F: ···*quare-euer* þou comys in exile. / G: ···*Quar* þu wendis in exile.)

   (20) Þat ilk tung *quar-sum* þai war,

       Til ilk lede þai gaf ansuar: ——*Ibid.* 18957—8.

(=They gave answer to each of the people in each of their languages wherever they were.)

   (21) For I wene wel iwysse, sir Wowen ȝe are,

       Þat alle þe worlde worchipeȝ, *quere-so* ȝe ride;

                 ——*Gawain* 1226—7.

(=For I think it quite certain that you are Sir Gawain, whom all the world worships, wherever you may ride.)

   (22) This steede of bras, that esily and weel

       Kan in the space of a day natureel——

      ·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

       Wher-so yow lyst, in droghte or elles shoures,

       Beren youre body into every place

                 ——Chaucer, *C. T.*, F (*Sq. T.*) 115—9.

(= ···this steed of brass, which can bear your body very easily, in the space of a natural day, to every place wherever you like, in drought or showers.)

(23)   But nowe they take no maner hede,
       But seyne in voyce of flaterye,
          ·   ·   ·   ·   ·
       Ouer al where so they fare,
       And synge, ' Go, farewel feldefare.'   ——*Rom. Rose* 5506—10.
(=But now they take no care but say in a voice of flattery, wherever they go, and sing,
" Go, farewell ! All is lost ! ")
(24)   Ne helpeþ him no þing *wher so* he wende,   ——*Castle of L.* 429.
(=Nothing helps him wherever he may go.)
(25)   The stone ouer hym he can vp-folde
       And trad vpon þe pruddist prest,
       And went his way *wher-so* he wolde——   ——*Rel. Lyrics* x. 85—87.
(=He could raise the stone over him, trod upon the proudest priest, and went his way
wherever he would.)
     With the intensive duplicated form *ouer al where so* in example 23 we should compare
over al ther and *over al ther as*, given in examples 2 and 10 under III Da respectively.   For
the idiomatic impersonal construction " *wher-so yow lyst* " in example 22, we can give
another Chaucerian instance: *wherso hem lust* (*Rom. Rose* 4421).
     v.   (26)   Now good thrift have he, *wherso that* he be !
                                          ——Chaucer, *Tr. & Cr.* ii. 847.
(=Now let him have good fortune, wherever he may be !)
     This is the only instance of *wherso that* that can be found in Chaucer.
     vi.   (27)   Bot *quar-sum-euer* þis tre lai,
                  Godd sceud par-on his mightes ai,   ——*Cursor M.*, C 8931—2.
(=But wherever this tree lay, God showed his powers on it.) (Cf. G: Bot *quar-sua-euer*
þis tre lay, ···)
     (28)   And *quere-so-euer* þys mon in melly watz stad,
            His þro poȝt watȝ in þat, purȝ alle oþer pyngeȝ,   ——*Gawain* 644—5.
(=And wherever this man was busy in battle, his eager thought was on that, through
all other things, ···)
     (29)   ···every wikkid schrewe, and for his wikkidnesse is the more gredy aftir othir
folkes rychesses *wher so evere* it be in ony place, be it gold or precyous stones; ···——
Chaucer, *Boece* ii. P. 5, 174—6.   (=Every wicked person, just for his wickedness, is
all the more greedy for other people's riches wherever they may be, whether they are
gold or precious stones.) (Cf. L: pessimus quisque eoque alieni magis auidus *quidquid
usquam* auri gemmarumque est)
     (30)   For hidor or thidur *wher ser* heo turne
            They syn þe foule fynde in vche horne.   ——*Castle of L.* 1711—2.[34]
(=For here and there, wherever they turn, they see the foul fiend in every corner.)
     (31)   They spare noþer fore labour ne fore spendyng,
            To do ȝour plesure *wer-so-euer* ȝe be,   ——*Rel. Lyrics* cli. 26—27.
(=They spare neither pains nor expense to please you wherever you may be.)

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[34] Compare the similar formation from the cognate indefinite *whidur* (=whither), as in: "And þei shull
be so lyȝht and swyft That *whidur seuer* þey þenk þey may be lyft,"——*Ibid.* 1783—4.   (=And they will be
so light and swift that wherever they intend they will be carried.)

Of these ME forms of *wheresoever, wher ser,* as in example 30, looks the most conspicuous. *Ser* in *wher ser* is contracted from *soe'er, so ere,* which is in turn shortened from *so euer,* with the loss of the medial consonant.

vii. (32) Gop and gederp *where euer* ʒe mowen fynden.——Wyclif, *Exod.* v. 11. (= Go and gather it wherever you may find it.) (Cf. L: Ite, et colligite *sicubi* invenire poteritis)

(33) I may assoyle, and I maye shryue,

> · · · · · ·

Al folke, *whereeuer* they founde be: ——*Rom. Rose* 6364—6.

(=I can absolve and shrive all the people wherever they may be found.) (Cf. F: ··· Toutes gens, *ou que* ie les truisse:)

viii. (34) Joseph thought wel on his mister,
Did gader sariantz and squier,
To gedir wrightes, far and nere,
Quar-euer pat pai funden were; ——*Cursor M.,* C 4669—72.

(=Joseph thought well of his master, and made the servants and squire gather workmen together wherever, far and near, they were found.) (Cf. F: ···*quare* pai *euer* fundyn were./ T: ···*where euer* pei miʒte be founde)

ix. (35) And everemoore, *where that evere* they goon,
Men may hem knowe by smel of brymstoon.
——Chaucer, *C. T.,* G (*C. Y. T.*) 884—5.

(=And every time, wherever they go, people know them by the smell of brimstone.) [Also cf. *ibid.* 733.]

x. (36) Upon the ende of this est lyne ··· is marked a litel cros, *where as evere* moo generaly is considerid the entring of the first degre in which the sonne arisith.——Id., *Astrolabe* I. vi. 8—12. (=At the end of this east line is marked a small cross, wherever the first degree where the sun rises is more generally considered to start.)

(37) For *wher as evere* him lest to sette,
Ther is no myght which him may lette. ——Gower, *Conf. Am.* I. 37—38.

(=For wherever he is pleased to attack, there is no power that can hinder him.)

IV. *Summary*

I am now in a position to attempt a general conclusion about the process in the Middle English period by which the old *par* [*per, ther(e)*] was going to be superseded by the new *war* [*hwar, wher(e)*] in the function of relative adverb or subordinate conjunction. On the whole, the process is slow and gradual. Especially in the uses of Classes A, B and C, the advance of *war* [*hwar, wher(e)*] in the sphere of *par* [*per, ther(e)*] is not so marked as we expect it to be in the course from EME down to LME. This substitution of *war* [*hwar, wher(e)*] for *par* [*per, ther(e)*] is all the more felt to be slow because we are particularly concerned with a comparative observation of *where* and *there* as against *when* and *then* or *tho*.[35]

In this respect we are reminded of the semantic or logical features of the local connective as compared with the temporal connective. The former is of more concrete content

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[35] Among the quotations given in the present article, there are some——exx. 2, II Aa; 14, III Ab; 7 and 17, III Ba; 2, III Bb; 8, 13 and 23, III Ca——where in the same sentences the new temporal connective *wane* [*wen, quen, whan, whanne*] occurs alongside the old local connective *par* [*ther, ther aſ*].

than the latter. The local connective is more likely to be used in the structural situations where it immediately follows a noun of local reference, with its demonstrative or anaphoric function well preserved. The temporal connective, on the other hand, is more suited for an abstract form-word. It is much more used to introduce an adverbial clause of time (Class C) than a relative clause (Class A or B). The contrastable features seem to account for the early use of OE *hwǣr* or its intensive composite form *swā-hwǣr-swā* as indefinite relative meaning 'wherever,' and also for the persistence of ME *per [ther(e)]*, especially as it was used as definite relative (Class A or B).

We have observed what seems to have motivated tle substitution of *where* for *there* in several quotations——such as exx. 4, 5 and 8, II Bb; 3 and 4, II Cb; and 2 and 7, III Bb. In those phenomena the substitution is ascribable to the semantic influence of the governing verbs whose signification is seeking, inquiring, or discovering and which have an aptitude in the contexts to be followed by the indefinite-interrogative *ware [quar, wher]*, rather than *per (par, ther)*, that is the word of demonstrative derivation.

Such phenomena have already been remarked about some Old English instances. They are moreover suggestive of the fluctutation in the usage that has not yet been established by the end of the Middle English period. The instances that seem particularly significant in this respect are the LME quotations, as follows: ···*wher* ∼ ···*ther* ∼ (ex. 4, III Ab) / ··· *ther* ∼ *where as* ∼ (ex. 14, III Cb) / ···*ther as* ∼ *whereas* ∼ *whereas* ∼ (ex. 15, III Cb) / ···*per* ∼ *in* ∼, *wher'* ∼ (ex. 10, III Ab). There we have noted that *wher(e) (as)* is more formal and deliberate in stylistic value than *ther (as)*, and that this is especially true in the comparison of the emphatic forms *wher(e) as* and *ther as*.[36]

Another point to be remarked is that while the old favoured correlative construction " *Per [Ther(e)]* ∼ *per [ther(e)]···* " was well preserved, as it is seen in a number of EME and even LME examples (6, 14, II Ca; 5, II Da; 7, 9, 11, 19, 21, III Ca; and 1, 4, 11, III Da), there began to appear in the LME period the newer form " *Wher(e)* ∼ *ther(e)···*," as seen in exx. 2, 5 and 15, III Cb and 4 and 11, III Db. This process, gradual as it is, is in the direction of more distinct expressiveness and should be regarded as a characteristic aspect in the history of *where* developing in the function that has hitherto been performed by *there*.

As for Class D, indefinite *war [hwar, wher(e)]* in the sense of 'wherever' was naturally far advanced during the Middle English period, freely displaying its inherent value. In form it became more and more variegated, having several emphatic elements——though some of them, as in the case of a definite relative or conjunction, were merely metrical and pleonastic——appended after or sometimes even before it and thus its generalizing force reinforced. On the other hand, no less notice might be taken of the simple form establishing its idiomatic usage in such expressions as *whar pu wulle* (ex. 7, II Db), *where hym list* (ex. 5, III Db), etc., though here again our attention is also drawn to the persistence of the older type of expressions, such as *ðor he wile* (ex. 8, II Da), *ther him leste* (ex. 5, III Da), etc.

It is now difficult to estimate how much influence *wher(e)* in this use (Db) was exerting

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[36] It is presumable that the predominance in Chaucer of the spelling *where*, with the ending *-e*, as contrasted with the spelling *ther*, without *-e* at the end, is partly due to the quantitative weight that is greater in the former than in the latter, apart from the orthographical differentiation of *whēre* from *whĕr* (<OE *hwæþer* whether).

on the development of *where* in the subordinating function in general;[37] but we might safely conjecture that the use of *wher(e)* in the sense of 'wherever' had been delicately involved in the use of Cb, that is, that of *wher(e)* introducing an adverbial clause, where the indefinite and generalizing force of the word was likely to be more or less displayed according to the contextual requirements. When we come to the influence of Db upon Ab or Bb, that is, the uses of *wher(e)* as definite relative adverb, the matter is still worse. All we can say is that Chaucer's "every place *where* ∼" (ex. 5, III Bb), just incidental though it may be, seems to cast some light on the question.

As for the external factor, we may mention the influence of Latin and French. We can see as early as the thirteenth century an apparent mark of French influence in the uses of *war* and *wer*, both possibly ascribable to F *u* (=où), in the quotations from *Kentish Sermons* (exx. 1, 2, II Bb); and further in LME the French influence is held responsible for *huere* (cf. F *ou*), *per huer* (cf. F *la ou*) in *Ayenbite Inwyt* (ex. 3, III Bb), and for *where* (cf. F *la ou*) in *The Romaunt of the Rose* (ex. 6, III Bb). To Latin influence the use of *wher(e)* (cf. L *ubi*) in the Wycliffite Version of the Bible (exx. 3, 4, III Ab; 4, III Bb; 1, III Cb; 4, 32, III Db) may be evidently traceable, and *wher'* in the Gloucester MS. of *Gesta Romanorum* (exx. 13, III Ab; 12, III Cb) can also be traced to *vbi* in the Latin original.

The *qu*-forms, such as *quer*, *quar(e)*, *qware*, *quuor*, and *quhair*, as found in *Genesis and Exodus*, *Cursor Mundi*, and some religious lyrics of the fifteenth century——all of Northern or East-Midland provenance——may truly be regarded as indirectly ascribable to the Latin or French influence; but we cannot judge this anything but a merely incidental factor for the development in question.

More intrinsically it is of native origin and has proceeded very slowly from the latter part of Old English through the Middle English period. The final fruition is to be achieved in the sixteenth century, when the whole system of English *wh*-relatives has been established.

<p style="text-align:center">×   ×   ×</p>

<p style="text-align:center">*TEXTS QUOTED*</p>

The items following have been arranged, in the case of (A) EME, chiefly according to dialectal distribution, and in the case of (B) LME, roughly in the order of the dates in which the texts were composed.

(A) EME:

Prayer V.=A Prayer to the Virgin. MS.: Egerton 613, British Museum. Southwestern; c. 1200. Ed.: R. Morris, *An Old English Miscellany* (abbr. *O. E. M.*) (E. E. T. S., O. S. No. 49; 1872, repr. 1969), xxix.

Lamb. Hom.=The Lambeth Homilies. MS.: Lambeth 487. West Midland; c. 1200. Ed.: R. Morris, *Old English Homilies*, I (abbr. *O.E.H.*) (E.E.T.S., O.S. Nos. 29, 34; 1867, repr. 1969), III. "First Sunday in Lent."

Poema Morale. (1) L=MS. Lambeth 487. West Midland; a. 1200. Ed.: *O.E.H.*, xvLIII. (2) J=MS. Jesus College, Oxford, E 29. West Midland; a. 1300. Ed.; *O.E.M.*, II.

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[37] Let me here mention my acknowledgement to Professor Bruce Mitchell, who was good enough to remind me in his personal letter that I had placed too much emphasis on the early use of OE indefinite relative *hwǣr* in my "OE *þǣr* and *Hwǣr*," as if it had also fully developed, prior to any other *wh*-word, the function as definite relative.

Owl & N., C=*The Owl and the Nightingale*. MS.: Cotton Caligula A IX, British Museum. Southwestern; a. 1300. Ed.: G.F.H. Sykes & J.H.G. Grattan, E.E.T.S., E.S. No. 119; 1935, repr. 1959.

Laʒamon=Laʒamon's Brut. (1) C=MS. Cotton Caligula A IX, British Museum. West Midland; a 1225. (2) O=MS. Cotton Otho C XIII, British Museum. Southwestern; c. 1300. Ed.: F. Madden, London, 1847, repr. 1970.

Kentish Sermons=Old Kentish Sermons. MS.: Land 471, Bodleian Library. Kentish; c. 1250. Translated from the French sermons, originally made by Maurice de Sully. Ed.: *O.E.M.*, pp. 26-36. The French original has been quoted from C. A. Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 88, 90.

King Horn. (1) C=MS. Cambridge Univ. Gg. 4. 27. 2. Southwestern; c. 1260. (2) L= Laud Misc. MS. 108. Probably 1325. Eds.: J. R. Lumby & G. H. McKnight, E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 14; 1866, repr. 1962; and also R. Morris, *Specimens of Early English*, I (Oxford, 1926), XIX.

Ancrene Wisse. (1) MS.: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 402. Southwestern; c. 1200. Ed.: J. R. R. Tolkien, E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 249, 1962. (2) *Ancrene Riwle*. MS.: Cotton Nero A XIV, British Museum. West Midland; a. 1225. Ed.: M. Day, E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 225; 1952, repr. 1957.

V. & V.=Vices and Virtues. MS.: Stowe 34, British Museum. East Midland; c. 1200. Ed.: F. Holthausen, E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 89; 1888, repr. 1967.

Orm.=The Ormulum. MS.: Julius I, Bodleian Library. East Midland; c. 1200. Eds.: H. Sweet, *First Middle English Primer* (Oxford, 1884), pp. 48—81; and J. A. W. Bennett & G. V. Smithers, *Early Middle English Verse and Prose* (Oxford, 1966), XIII.

Wohunge U. L.=Þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd. MS.: Cotton Titus D 18, British Museum. East Midland; c. 1200. Ed.: *O.E.H.* XXIX.

Gen. & Ex.=The Story of Genesis and Exodus. MS.: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 444. East Midland; c. 1250. Ed.: R. Morris, E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 7; 1865, repr. 1969.

(B) LME:

Cursor M.=Cursor Mundi. (1) C. MS.: Cotton Vespasian A III, British Museum. Northumberland, or more likely Scotland; c. 1300. (2) F. MS.: Fairfax 14, Bodleian Library. East Lancashire or West York; the late 14th c.—the early 15th c. (3) G. MS.: Theol. 107, Göttingen Univ. Library. Northwestern Lincolnshire; the early 15th c. or the late 14th c. (4) T. MS.: R 3. 8, Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. South West-Midland; the first quarter of the 15th c. Ed.: R. Morris, E.E.T.S., O.S. Nos. 57, 59, 62, 66, 68; 1874—78.

Dan Michel, *Ayen. Inw.=Ayenbite of Inwyt*. MS.: Arundel 57, British Museum. Kentish; 1340. Translated from Friar Lorens, *Somme des Vices et des Vertues* (M.S. Cotton Cleopatra A. v, British Museum; composed in 1279). Ed.: R. Morris & P. Gradon, E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 23; 1866, repr. 1965. The French original has been quoted from F. Mossé, *Manuel de l'anglais du moyen âge*, II (Paris, 1949), xv.

Gawain=Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. MS.: Cotton Nero, Ax. Northwest Midland; c. 1390. Ed.: I. Gollanz, E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 210, 1940.

Piers Pl.=Piers Plowman. (1) A. MS.: Trinity College, Cambridge, R 3. 14. Collated with MS. V (=Vernon), English Poetry a. 1, Bodleian Library. (2) B. MS.: Laud 851, Bodleian Library. (3) C. MS.: Phillipps 8231. Southwestern or West Midland; A c. 1362, B c. 1377, C c. 1393. Eds.: G. Kane, *Piers Plowman: The A Version* (Univ. of London, 1960); and W. W. Skeat, *Piers the Plowman and Richard the Redeless* (Oxford, 1886).

Wyclif=*The Wycliffite Version of the Bible*. Oxford, or Southeast Midland. (1) *Matt.= Matthew*. MS.: Douce Collection 369, Bodleian Library. 1389. Ed.: J. Bosworth & G. Waring, *The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels with the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale*, London, 1888. (2) *Gen.* (=Genesis) and *Exod.* (=Exodus). MS.: Bodley 959, Bodleian Library. a. 1400. Ed.: C.

Lindley, Stockholm, 1959.   For the quotation from the original Vulgate we are dependent on *Biblia Sacra Latina*, London, 1794.

Chaucer. London, or Southeast Midland; c. 1372—1400.   Ed.: F. N. Robinson, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed., Oxford U. P., 1957.   *C. T.=The Canterbury Tales*.   The Tales quoted are as follows.   Group A: *Prol.= General Prologue | Kn. T.= The Knight's Tale | Mil. T.=The Miller's Tale*.   Group B: *M.L.T.=The Man of Law's Tale | Sh. T.=The Shipman's Tale | Pri. T.= The Prioress's Tale | Mel. T.=The Tale of Melibee | M. T.= The Monk's Tale | N. P. T.= The Nun's Priest's Tale*.   Group C: *Pard. T.= The Pardoner's Tale*.   Group D: *W.B.T. [P.]= The Wife of Bath's Tale [Prologue] | Fr. T.=The Friar's Tale | Sum. T.=The Summoner's Tale*.   Group E: *Cl. T.=The Clerk's Tale | Merch. T.=The Merchant's Tale*.   Group F: *Sq. T.=The Squire's Tale | Fkl. T.=The Franklin's Tale*.   Group G: *C. Y. T.=The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*.   Group I: *Pars. T. = The Parson's Tale*.   The other works by Chaucer quoted are: *B. D. = The Book of the Duchess; H. F.=The House of Fame; P. F.=The Parliament of Fowls; Boece; Tr. & Cr.=Troilus and Criseyde; L. G. W.=The Legend of Good Women; Compl. L.=A Complaint of his Lady; Form. Age=The Former Age;* and *Astrolabe=A Treatise of the Astrolabe*.

Rom. Rose=The Romaunt of the Rose.   Fragment A (ll. 1-1775) is ascribed to Chaucer, who is supposed to have composed it before 1372.   The language of Fragments B (ll. 1776-5810) and C (ll. 5811-7696) is somewhat tinged with Northern features.   Translated from the OF text, *Le Roman de la Rose* (c. 1235—c. 1270).   Ed.: R. Sutherland, *The Romaunt of the Rose and Le Roman de la Rose*, Oxford, 1967.

Gower, *Conf. Am.=Confessio Amantis*.   London, Southeast Midland, with Kentish features; c. 1393.   Ed.: G. C. Macaulay, *The English Works of John Gower*, E. E. T. S., E. S. Nos. 81, 82; 1900, 1901.

Castle of L.=Castle of Love.   MSS.: (1) (ll. 1-1514) MS. V (=Vernon), English Poetry a. 1, Bodleian Library.   West Midland; c. 1390.   (2) (ll. 1515—1862) MS. H = Additional B 107, Bodleian Library.   Less pronounced West-Midland; a. 1450.   Ed.: K. Sajavaara, *The Middle English Translations of Robert Grosseteste's Chateau D'Amour* (Helsinki, 1967), pp. 260—319.

Morte Arthure.   Northern; a. 1400.   MS.: Thornton A 1. 17, Lincoln Cathedral Library.   Ed.: E. Björkman, Heidelberg, 1915.

Lydgate.   Suffolk, East Midland; c. 1420.   (1) *L. Lyckpeny=London Lyckpeny*.   MS.: Harley 367, British Museum.   (2) *St. of Thebes=The Storie of Thebes*.   MS.: Arundel 119, British Museum.   Ed.: W. W. Skeat, *Specimens of English Literature A. D. 1394—1579* (Oxford, 1917[6]), III.

Malory.   London, East Midland; c. 1485.   Sometimes collated with Caxton's edition, *Le Morte Darthur*, the MS. of which was composed c. 1470.   Ed.: E. Vinaver, *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1967.

Rel. Lyrics = Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century, edited by C. Brown, Oxford, 1939.   The pieces quoted are: x. " Our Lady's Impression," Cambridge Univ. MS. Ff. 5. 48; XXXII. " An Orison to Our Lady by the Seven Joys," Cambridge Univ. MS. Ff. 1.6; LII. " In One in All," Harley MS. 1022; LXXXIX. " The Three Kings and Herod," St. John's College, Cambridge, MS. 259; XCI. " The Story of the Passion," Arundel MS. 285; CLI. " Vanitas Vanitatum," MS. Ashmole 61; CLXXII. " Good Rule Is Out of Remembrance," MS. Rawlinson poetry 36; and CLXXIII. " The Rancour of this Wicked World," Cambridge Univ. MS. Ff. 1. 6.

Caxton.   London, East Midland.   (1) *Hist. of Troye=Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*.   1471.   Ed.: W. W. Skeat, *op. cit.*, IX.   (2) *Prol. & Ep.=The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton* (edited by W. J. B. Crotch, E. E. T. S., O. S. No. 176, 1928).   1475.

Past L.=The Paston Letters.   Mostly Norfolk, East Midland.   The pieces quoted are No. 6 (an. 1424) and No. 20 (an. 1430?).   Ed.: J. H. Gairdner, London, 1904, repr. 1965.

Gesta Rom., Glouc. MS. = *Gesta Romanorum*, edited from Gloucester Cathedral MS. 22, by K. I. Sandred, Uppsala, 1971.   South Midland, with some North-Midland elements; the latter

half of the 15 th c. Compared with MS. H=Harley 1333, British Museum (about the middle of the 15 th c.), MS. A=Additional 9066, British Museum (the second half of the 15th c.), and MS. W=Wynkyn de Worde's Edition (c. 1510-15). The original Anglo-Latin text is edited from MS. Harley 5369, British Museum (c. 1400), collated with Bodleian MS. 123 (the early 15th c.). We have also quoted the additional edition by S.J.H. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., E.S. No. 33, 1879, repr. 1962.